Tarndanyungga Kaurna Yerta

A REPORT ON THE INDIGENOUS CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ADELAIDE PARK LANDS

ADELAIDE PARKLANDS MANAGEMENT STRATEGY

FOR
HASSELL PTY LTD & THE ADELAIDE CITY COUNCIL

PREPARED BY STEVE HEMMING
WITH ASSISTANCE FROM RHONDDA HARRIS
FOR THE KAURNA ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY HERITAGE COMMITTEE

JULY 1998

FIGURES 3

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 6

1. INTRODUCTION 8

1.1 Background 8

1.2. Research & Consultation 9

2. INDIGENOUS CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ADELAIDE CITY PARK LANDS 13

2.1 Introduction 13

2.2 Kaurna Statement of Cultural Significance for the Adelaide Park Lands (Interim) 16

2.3 Significant places on the Park Lands 17

3. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RECOGNITION, INTERPRETATION AND PARTNERSHIP 26

3.1 Introduction 26

3.2 Recommendations 26

4. MAPPING THE INDIGENOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PARK LANDS 30

4.1 Introduction - the Kaurna and their country in 1836 30

4.2 The Park Lands - some historical and anthropological issues 32

4.3 An Historical and Cultural Map of the Parklands 34

4.3.1 Introduction 34

4.3.2 Places recorded on Cultural and Historic Map (Fig. 12) 34

6. SOURCES 61

6.1 Resource collections 61

6.2 Bibliography 62

Figures

Fig. 1. Indigenous groups in South Australia, Map (after Tindale 1974).
Fig. 2. Amelia Taylor (*Ivaritji*) in 1928.
Fig. 3. Tjilbruke Dreaming Track.
Fig. 4. The Kuri and Palti dances in Adelaide (top and bottom respectively), 1844.
Fig. 5. A camp in the Adelaide Park Lands, c. 1870.
Fig. 6. A camp near Adelaide, c. 1854.
Fig. 7. 'Corroboree' at night, near Adelaide, c. 1844.
Fig. 8. Kuri Dance in Adelaide, c. 1844.
Fig. 9. Captain Jack (*Kadlitpinna*) in Adelaide, 1884.
Fig. 10. Exemption certificate - Tim Hughes.
Fig. 11. A camp at Glenelg, c. 1895. Tommy Walker standing on right.
Fig. 12. Historical and Cultural Map of the Parklands.
Fig. 13. Botanic Gardens: Sites A-E.
Fig. 14. Section of Kingston's 1842 Map of Adelaide.
Fig. 15. Section of Freeling's 1849 Map of Adelaide.
Fig. 16. Adelaide Golf Course, Location Area.
Fig. 17. Townsend Duryea, Panorama of Adelaide, 1865. Site of the Adelaide Location.
Fig. 18. Location School Sketch by William Cawthorne.
Fig. 19. 'First Railway Bridge' Glover, 1856.
Fig. 20. Early settlement in Adelaide: sketch by Samuel Calvert, 1856.
Fig. 21. 'Adelaide Gaol', S. T. Gill.
Fig. 22. North Terrace looking east from the west end, about 1841. E. A. Opie.
Fig. 23 & Front Cover. Adelaide from the north bank of the river Torrens. Robert Davenport.
Fig. 24. Aboriginal scene on North Bank of Torrens. Plaque on Adelaide Bridge.
Fig. 25. Old Government House, S.T.Gill.
Fig. 26. Looking towards North Terrace from Montefiore Hill, 1845, F. R. Nixon .
Fig. 27. Tent Embassy, North Adelaide 1972.
Fig. 28. The first dinner given to the Aborigines, 1838, Martha Berkeley.
Fig. 29. Plan of Native School Establishment
Fig. 30. 'Aboriginal location, new one, west view', c. 1846. S.T. Gill.
Fig. 31. Aboriginal People outside the Exhibition Building, Frome Road.
Fig. 32. Banks of Torrens near Botanic Garden.
Fig. 33. 'St Peters College etc' L. Tomkinson, dated 2 May 1856.

Fig. 34. Townsend Duryea, Panorama 1865. Botanic Park / Hackney Bridge area.

Fig. 35. Torrens River, Adelaide near Adelaide Zoo, 1855. E. Von Geurard.

Fig. 36. Winter encampment in the Parklands near Adelaide, 1855. E. Von Geurard.

Fig. 37. The Beauty of the Tribe. Carlolin. 16 years old, Adelaide. E. Von Geurard.

Fig. 38. Jimmy and Mary, Lake Victoria / Murray Tribe, Adelaide, Mittwok, 1855. E. Von Geurard.

Fig. 39. The Poonindie team batting in a cricket match at St Peters College in 1874.

Fig. 40. 'Native girls going to Trinity Church', 1846. William Cawthorne.

Tarndanyungga Kaurna Yerta

This is the Red Kangaroo Dreaming place of the Kaurna people. It was an important place for the Kaurna long before the City of Adelaide was established. The Adelaide Park Lands and Squares are part of this place and hold special cultural significance for us - the Kaurna people.

The setting-up of the City of Adelaide and its Park Lands deprived our ancestors of the responsibility for maintaining crucial, culturally meaningful places. On the Park Lands the Kaurna have suffered to the present day as a result of this dispossession. Invasion has meant continuing alienation, oppression and harassment for us and other Indigenous people. These injustices have been played out on the Adelaide Park Lands.

The Park Lands have many culturally significant places. These places should be preserved from further encroachment.

We, as Kaurna people, must walk on these places to maintain our cultural strength.

(Kaurna Statement of Cultural Significance for the Adelaide Park Lands - Interim, July 1998)

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank all the people who have contributed to the production of this Report. Unfortunately, the time available for this work has been limited and this has restricted out ability to conduct broad discussions with Kaurna people and other Indigenous people with interests in the Adelaide Park Lands.

We would like to especially thank Garth Agius for his invaluable coordination of the consultation process. As Chairperson of the Kaurna Aboriginal Community Heritage Association (KACHA) he has spent considerable time advising on the Project. We would also like to particularly thank Lewis O'Brien, Doris Graham, Veronica Brodie, Phoebe Wanganeen, Margaret Jacobs, Madeline Wilson, Neva Wilson, Georgina Williams, Cherie Watkins, Major Sumner, Neville Gollan, Marj Angie-Bear, Alma Ridgeway, Margaret (Connie) Roberts, Dorothy Davies, Neville Highfold, Diat Alferick, Darrel Kraenbeuhl, Rob Amery, Ron Gibbs, Tom Gara, Brian Dickey, David Morris, Rob Foster and Andrew Wilson. These people have all spent time individually providing advice and valuable information. Rob Foster, Tom Gara and Rob Amery kindly gave access to their unpublished research. We apologise to all the people that we did not get a chance to talk with - this has been preliminary investigation and we hope that a long-term process will begin from here.

We would like to thank the Kaurna Elders Council Inc. for providing valuable input during presentations at their meetings. Unfortunately limited time restricted the amount of advice and input that we were able to receive from this Kaurna Council. It is expected that they will be able to contribute more fully once negotiations between the Kaurna and the Adelaide City Council commence.

We would like to thank the Adelaide City Council and the Port Adelaide and Enfield City Council for their warm welcomes and facilities for the staging of our workshops. Finally, we would also like to thank the following institutions and organisations for assistance and access to their expertise and materials.

State Government Records, Netley
Adelaide City Archives
Lutheran Archives
Mortlock Library

Unley Museum
Lands Dept of South Australia
South Australian Museum
History Trust of South Australia
Art Gallery of South Australia
Department of State Aboriginal Affairs
Wyatt Benevolent Association

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

In the early 1840s, in Adelaide, a conversation took place between two recently initiated Kaurna men and the Lutheran missionaries Christian Teichelmann and Clamor Schurmann. The missionaries attempted to influence the beliefs of the men telling them that they should fear Jehovah and not the 'red kangaroo'. The Red Kangaroo is an important Dreaming ancestor in the Adelaide area. Teichelmann reported that:

> One of them growing angry said, why do you charge us with a lie, i.e. reject our opinion, we do not charge you with lies; what you believe and speak of Jehovah is good, and what we believe is good. We [the missionaries] replied that only on one side the truth would be, and that side was ours. Very well, he answered, then I am a liar, and you speak the truth; I shall not speak another word, you may now speak.[1]

This early exchange provides an important insight into the strategies that Indigenous people developed for defending themselves against the intrusiveness of the invading European culture. A decision to withdraw from conversations with non-Indigenous people regarding Indigenous culture was one important strategy. It is hoped that this report is part of the beginning of a new conversation between non-Indigenous authorities and Kaurna people.

This report grew out of advice provided by Garth Agius, Chairperson of the Kaurna Aboriginal Community Heritage Association (KACHA), to the Adelaide City Council as a member of the Community Advisory committee established to assist with the development of an Adelaide Park Lands Management Strategy. He felt that Indigenous interests needed to be the subject of a separate research process. Out of this recommendation a set of guidelines were developed for the investigation of the Indigenous significance of the Park Lands. This report is a first stage in the development of an overall approach to including the

---

[1] Christian Teichelmann, *Aborigines of South Australia. Illustrative and explanatory notes of the manners, customs, habits, and superstitions of the natives of South Australia*, Committee of the South Australian Wesleyan Methodist Auxiliary Mission Society, Adelaide, 1841, pp. 12-13.

interests of Indigenous people in the Park Lands Management Strategy. The time allocated for the development of this report has been very brief. It is, however, hoped that the results will provide a beginning to a process that should include the Adelaide City Council in a broader series of consultations and negotiations with the Kaurna community and other Indigenous groups in South Australia.

The Kaurna recognise that the Adelaide City Council have made some significant gestures of reconciliation. The Council's *National Sorry Day Acknowledgement and Vision Statement for Reconciliation* contain some strong words and welcome commitment. This report suggests some specific ways that the Council can carry out its commitment to Indigenous people, and in particular the Kaurna community. As Kaurna elder Lewis O'Brien said in one of the workshops staged in the development of this report 'You have taken so much, now it is time to give something back'.

The Kaurna believe that the Adelaide Park Lands Management Strategy can be a starting point for the development of a clear process for negotiation with the City of Adelaide. As traditional owners, the Kaurna see themselves as unique stake holders in the City of Adelaide and its Park Lands (see Figure 1). They also recognise that over the last 162 years other Indigenous people have developed an important connection with the City of Adelaide.

1.2. Research & Consultation[2]

Steve Hemming, an historian and Rhondda Harris, an honours archaeology student, have carried out the research and much of the consultation for the development of this report. Garth Agius (KACHA & Kura Yerlo) has provided coordination of community consultation and general management of the project.[3] Steve Hemming has provided the

---

[2] The word 'consultation' holds a negative connotation for many Indigenous people - the word negotiation is preferred. In this report, however, the term is appropriate due to the nature of the research process. As the process of development of a Park Lands Strategy progresses it is hoped that the Adelaide City Council will negotiate with Kaurna people rather than consult.

[3] Several Aboriginal community workshops have been held. They have been staged at the Adelaide City Town Hall and the Port Adelaide and Enfield Council Chambers. Steve Hemming and Rhondda Harris have also attended meetings of the Kaurna Elders Council Inc. to discuss the project. Lynette Crocker has prepared a 'Draft Policy Framework Statement of the Kaurna Aboriginal Community Heritage Association'.

research direction and Rhondda Harris has assisted with archival research and oral history interviews. The section of the report, 'An Historical and Cultural Map of the Park Lands' is based on a draft developed by her.

This research process has involved: oral histories; archival research; anthropological analysis; community workshops; archaeological fieldwork; and literature reviews. The project outline identified the following points:

- the key issues from an historical and anthropological perspective
- current meanings of Park Lands for Aboriginal people
- significant places, song and story lines and links to other Kaurna Dreamings beyond the City of Adelaide
- opportunities for recognition and interpretation
- recommendations about possible partnership projects between Council and Aboriginal people, eg Park Lands development, management and ecotourism.

The time-frame and resources allocated for the project have restricted the scope of the outcomes. The breadth of research has, however, been greatly assisted through the involvement of Rhondda Harris. Her contribution has been of a voluntary nature. She is hoping that the research she has carried out on this project will assist with her honours thesis. She has negotiated this involvement with KACHA and Kura Yerlo.

An interim statement of Kaurna cultural significance for the Adelaide Park Lands has been developed as a major outcome of this project. A further outcome has been the development of a series of recommendations for a process of ongoing, negotiated, Indigenous involvement in the management of the Park Lands.[4]

Research began in late April with literature searches and discussions with a series of researchers who have long-term experience with Aboriginal Adelaide.[5] Steve Hemming has himself conducted research into Kaurna Aboriginal culture and history for a number of years. Preliminary archaeological field surveys have been carried out in a number of key

---

It raises some key ideas that provide background and recommendations concerning the relationship between Indigenous people and the Adelaide Park Lands. The KACHA committee will be discussing and refining this document for use in discussions with the City Council.

[4] A draft of this report was checked by a working group of the KACHA executive committee, 9 July 1998.

[5] Tom Gara, Rob Amery and Robert Foster.

areas in the Park Lands (see Figure 16). Archival records, oral histories and visual sources have also been used to locate important places. A map of Indigenous connections with the Park Lands has been developed and this includes an indication of the location of sites of significance identified during this project (Figure 12). What has been attempted is a preliminary survey to provide a broad insight into the range of Indigenous connections to the Park Lands.

A considerable amount of archival research has been undertaken. Recently translated missionary diaries are amongst the fascinating new sources that have been available for research. It is not widely known that there exists a considerable amount of information about the Kaurna people, the relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in the Adelaide area, and the history of Indigenous involvement with the City of Adelaide. The Park Lands themselves represent a microcosm of the history of Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations in South Australia. The Park Lands were conceived as an artificial 'haven' surrounding the city - a space where Indigenous people were not supposed to exist. Indigenous people were at first marginalised in this space and then driven from much of the Park Lands to make way for the European enjoyment of this new landscape.

An important part of the research process has been the conducting of oral history interviews. It has only been possible, however, to interview a small cross-section of the Indigenous people with an association to the Adelaide area.[6] As a capital city, Adelaide has played a major role in the lives of all Indigenous groups around the State. Anangu people, for example, have been coming to Adelaide for many years to receive medical treatment. It would be interesting to obtain their impressions of the City, the Park Lands, the Squares and the meaning that Adelaide holds for them.

Discussions with representatives of some Adelaide Indigenous organisations have been conducted to obtain broader information about Indigenous interests in the Park Lands.[7] The limited time available to conduct this consultancy has, however, made it difficult to pursue this aspect of the research with any depth. The main focus of the community-based research has, therefore, been centred on Kaurna interests.

---

[6] KACHA has a grant to assist with further oral history work. The oral histories collected so far will be developed into a publication on the Indigenous history of Adelaide.

[7] A community workshop for Adelaide Indigenous organisations was held in the Town Hall, 19 June 1998. However, only a few organisations were represented at this workshop.

Finally, we believe that it is important to stress that the 'Preliminary Assessment of the Cultural Significance of the Adelaide Parklands', contained in the *Draft Park Lands Management Strategy - Issues Report*, provides a very limited indication of the range of Indigenous significance associated with the Park Lands. We would also argue that it is inaccurate in stating that 'there are no recorded Aboriginal sacred sites nor known archaeological sites of Aboriginal significance within the Park Lands'.[8] From our research it is clear that there are a range of places of Indigenous significance in the Adelaide Park Lands, including 'sacred' and 'archaeological' sites.

[8] Donovan & Associates, 'The Cultural Significance of the Adelaide Park Lands: A preliminary assessment' February 1998, in Hassell, Draft Park Lands Management Strategy: Issues Report to the City of Adelaide, 10 March 1998, p. 15.

2. Indigenous cultural significance of the Adelaide City Park Lands

2.1 Introduction

Central to the aims of this research project has been the requirement to develop:
- a statement of Indigenous cultural significance for the Park Lands;
- an identification of significant Indigenous places in the Park Lands;
- and a series of recommendations concerning Indigenous involvement in the management of the Park Lands.

This project has been conducted within a restricted time-frame. It is, therefore, important to emphasise that the results contained in this report represent an early stage in the identification of Indigenous interests in the Park Lands. Indigenous people have had little time to reflect on the process of developing a management plan. This research project is the first attempt at providing resources for Indigenous people to investigate their own community views and to begin the development of specific strategies in relation to the Adelaide Park Lands.

During the consultation process it was decided to concentrate on a Kaurna statement of cultural significance due to the limited time available and the perceived need for the process to begin with a statement relevant to the traditional owners of the region. A broader Indigenous statement of significance should also be developed. The Kaurna statement of significance, however, does contain elements that have relevance to the wider Indigenous community.

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and Adelaide City Council Reconciliation Working Party could act as a reference group for a wider examination of the Indigenous significance of the Park Lands. Indigenous organisations based in the City of Adelaide should be provided with a reasonable time-frame to enable their considered input. Although there has been a Kaurna focus in the development of the statement of significance, the identification of significant areas, themes and recommendations are not restricted to Kaurna interests.

Taken as a whole the Park Lands have played a crucial role in the history of the dispossession of Kaurna people. The Park Lands were established to provide a vacant, 'natural' haven for the inhabitants of the new city of Adelaide. It was soon clear that Indigenous people were not supposed to exist in this space.[9] Indigenous people were seen by many Europeans as pests and their presence on the Park Lands and in the 'settled' districts of South Australia was considered a nuisance to the 'systematic colonisation' of South Australia. The history of the Adelaide Park Lands can be seen as a microcosm of the dispossession of Indigenous people and the continuing effects of being an alien on one's own land. Indigenous people, however, managed to maintain a presence in the Park Lands throughout the historic period. From the early years of 'settlement' they were constantly forced more and more to the margins of the Park Lands, away from the cultural precinct of North Terrace and the wealthier parts of the City. Today some Indigenous people still camp in parts of the Park Lands and use Victoria Square as a central meeting place.

The Park Lands, however, also possess positive elements for the Kaurna and other Indigenous groups. Through the preservation of important places in the Park Lands, Indigenous people can tell their histories and Dreamings, strengthening their culture and ensuring its vitality in their younger people. The Park Lands also provide a public venue for 'reconciliation' between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians.

The Adelaide Park Lands contain places of cultural significance to the Kaurna people and other South Australian Indigenous groups.[10] The research and consultative process undertaken during this report has been brief. Given the vital importance to Kaurna people, of a statement of cultural significance for the Park Lands, and the development of an effective process for Kaurna involvement in the management of the Park Lands, it is crucial that this report is understood to be the beginning not the end of Kaurna thinking about these issues. It is heartening that the City of Adelaide has in its *National Sorry Day Acknowledgement* included the following clear statement:

> The City of Adelaide joins with many individuals, church, civic, educational and community groups and organisations, in recognising that this is Kaurna land and that the process of settlement which gave

---

[9] For a discussion of the 'colonisation' of Indigenous 'space' see: Patrick, Wolfe, 'Nation and Miscegenation: Discursive continuity in the Post-Mabo era', *Social Analysis*, Vol. 36, 1994, pp. 93-152.

[10] We use the term 'cultural' in a general way, encompassing all aspects of the lives of a group of people.

rise to the Adelaide of today, resulted in the dispossession of the indigenous inhabitants. While there is much in that history of settler development in which to take pride, along with that satisfaction and benefit goes a responsibility to recognise the harmful effects which resulted for the dispossessed.

2.2 Kaurna Statement of Cultural Significance for the Adelaide Park Lands (Interim)

The following statement was developed at a workshop of the Kaurna Aboriginal Community Heritage Association and Kura Yerlo held at the Port Adelaide and Enfield Council Chambers on Friday 3 July 1998.

Tarndanyungga Kaurna Yerta

This is the Red Kangaroo Dreaming place of the Kaurna people. Adelaide City is located on this place. It was an important place for the Kaurna long before the City of Adelaide was established. The Adelaide Park Lands and Squares are part of this place and hold special cultural significance for us - the Kaurna people.

The setting-up of the Park Lands deprived our ancestors of the responsibility for maintaining crucial, culturally meaningful places. On the Park Lands the Kaurna have suffered to the present day as a result of this dispossession. Invasion has meant continuing alienation, oppression and harassment for us and other Indigenous people. These injustices have been played out on the Adelaide Park Lands.

The Park Lands have many culturally significant places. These places should be preserved from further encroachment.

We, as Kaurna people, must walk on these places to maintain our cultural strength.

2.3 Significant places on the Park Lands

The Park Lands hold a range of meanings for Kaurna and other Indigenous people in South Australia. A few people know something of the early history of dispossession and some have stories about the area as it was when Europeans first arrived.[11] There are several older people who spent time with Amelia Taylor or Ivaritji (Figure 2), a Kaurna woman who remembered the early days of invasion.[12] Others who are old enough to have experienced the oppressive years before the 1967 Referendum remember regular Indigenous camps in the West Parklands and times spent socialising with other Indigenous people in Light Square. Many young people know very little of the Indigenous history of the Park Lands, but know of recent Indigenous uses such as the annual Youth Celebrations in the South Park Lands. Everyone, however, knows that Victoria Square is a meeting area and place where some Indigenous people gather to drink.

Open spaces such as the Adelaide Park Lands and Victoria Square, have been since Adelaide's early years, crucial places where the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people has been shaped. The development of a negative stereotype of Indigenous people in urban areas has its origins in the fringe-camps located in places such as the Adelaide Park Lands.[13] In South Australia the Park Lands and Squares have been places where Indigenous people have been oppressed and harassed by the authorities such as the Police and the Aborigines Department. The continuing impact of dispossession and alienation contributes to the trauma in the lives of many Indigenous people who spend time in Victoria Square. This history is seldom understood by those non-Indigenous people who form a significant part of their understandings of Indigenous people from experiences and

---

[11] For example: Lewis O'Brien was told some early history of the Adelaide area by his Auntie Gladys Elphick; Margaret (Connie) Roberts knows stories about the experiences of Tommy Walker who lived in the Park Lands in the nineteenth century; and Veronica Brodie has knows her family's stories about nineteenth century Kaurna life in Adelaide.

[12] See Tom Gara, 'The life of Ivaritji ('Princess Amelia') of the Adelaide tribe', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of S.A.* 28 (1), 1990, pp. 64-103. Pheobe Wanganeen, Hilda Wilson and Doris Graham all spent time with Ivaritji when they were young.

[13] Robert Foster 'Tommy Walker walk up here ...' Aboriginal History (forthcoming). Foster provides an overview of the history of fringe-camps in Adelaide and a history of Tommy Walker as the archetypal fringe-dweller.

images in Victoria Square. This history also requires further investigation by the Adelaide City Council as the body with responsibility for the management of these spaces.

A range of significant themes and places have been identified during our research into the Indigenous significance of the Park Lands. Some of the more general themes have already been raised. In Section 4 of the report we provide a map (Figure 12) indicating the spread and location of significant places in the Park Lands. The following categories provide a guide to the scope of significant Indigenous places in the Park Lands. It is important to recognise that places can relate to a number of the categories.

Categories include:

- Dreamings/religion
- Living spaces/camps
- Meeting places
- Death, burials
- Indoctrination/education
- Dispossession/control/incarceration
- Politics/resistance/survival
- Sport/leisure
- Economic life
- Reconciliation
- Entertainment/ tourism

The following is a brief summary of the Indigenous significance of the Park Lands - it is by no means exhaustive.

- Prior to European invasion the area now occupied by the Park Lands and Squares was the country of the Tarndanya clan of the Kaurna people.[14] After the establishment of Adelaide the Park Lands soon became the only space in the city area available for Indigenous use. Since the early days of 'settlement' there has been constant pressure from the authorities to shift Indigenous people away from the Park Lands.

- The River Torrens (*Karra Wirra Parri* or *Tanda:njapari*[15]) was a crucial economic life-line and connected with the Red Kangaroo Dreaming. People hunted, fished and

---

[14] Norman B. Tindale, 'The wanderings of Tjirbruki: a tale of the Kaurna people of Adelaide', *Records of the S.A. Museum* 20, 1987, pp. 5-13.

[15] Tanda:njapari comes from N.B. Tindale, 1935-1939 Adelaide Tribe Notes, S. A. Museum, AA 338. This word would translate as the Red Kangaroo River. Unless indicated the words used in this report have been identified by Rob Amery and included in the Kaurna Naming Project; see Rob Amery, Kaurna Places names and Heritage, Report to the Adelaide City Council, 1997.

gathered a variety of plants for foods and other uses along the River Torrens (Figure 6). A number of European quarries were located on the south bank of the Torrens in the area of the Railway Station and the Festival Theatre. The linguist Rob Amery believes that it is likely that this area was *Tarnda Kanya* - the 'red kangaroo rock'.[16]

- There are a number of Dreamings related to the Adelaide Plains.[17] For example, the Red Kangaroo Dreaming appears to have a particular connection to the Adelaide City area, including the Park Lands. From the Park Lands there is a clear view of Mount Lofty and Mount Bonython (*Yurreidla*) - the two ears of the giant *Nga:no* or *Nganno* whose body forms the Mount Lofty Ranges. A related Dreaming story about *Pootpoberrie* is recorded for the Waterfall Gully area.[18] The famous Tjilbruke Dreaming stretches south of Adelaide along the coast but also enters onto the Adelaide Plains and the country of the Tarndanya clan (Figure 3).[19] More recently Kaurna people are talking with other Indigenous groups who have knowledge of Dreamings associated with the Adelaide area.[20]

- Amelia Taylor (*Ivaritji*) provided a number of details about the Adelaide Park Lands and Victoria Square in the 1920s and 1930s.[21] She identified the waterhole in the botanical gardens (*Kainka Wirra*) as her father King Rodney's (*Ityamaiitpinna*) main waterhole. She also said that the Victoria Square area was the 'headquarters' of the Tarndanya clan.[22] Herbert Hale, the SA Museum Director wrote that she told him that

---

[16] Amery 1997, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[17] We have included reference to a only a few of the recorded Kaurna Dreamings.

[18] Aboriginal Studies Teaching Resource Unit, *The Kaurna Trail Excursion. Teachers' Handbook*, Aboriginal Community College, Port Adelaide, 1985, pp. 78-83.

[19] Tindale 1987, op. cit.; Georgina Williams, a senior Kaurna woman, has spent a number of years learning the Dreamings of Kaurna country (in particular the Tjilbruke Dreaming) through research, discussions with elders and other Indigenous people and learning from the country itself and the spirits of her ancestors.

[20] Garth Agius 1998, pers. comm.

[21] Gara 1990, *op. cit.*

[22] Amery 1997, *op. cit.*

the camp at Victoria Square area was called Tarndanya.[23] The area near the Post Office was called *Ngamatyi*.[24]

- The Park Lands on the north side of the River Torrens (*Piltawodli*) was the site of the first 'Native Location' in South Australia (Figure 18). This area included a school run for a period by Lutheran missionaries. It was here that the practice of the removal of Indigenous children from their parents was first practiced by the authorities in South Australia.

- *Piltawodli* is now visited by students of Kaurna Plains School when learning about Kaurna history and culture.[25]

- The first Colonial Store was situated on the Park Lands. This area was an early focus of contact between Indigenous people and the 'settlers'. Hangings of Indigenous men took place near the Colonial Store establishing a pattern of fear of the Police amongst the Indigenous people.

- The Adelaide Gaol (built in 1840) - burials, executions and incarceration. The continuing negative relationship between the Police, the prison system and Indigenous people has been well-documented in the *Report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody*.[26] The Adelaide Gaol dominated the Adelaide landscape and the Park Lands south of the city (Figure 21). From an early time it would have been a powerful symbol of European invasion for Indigenous people.

- With the establishment of Adelaide, the Park Lands between the City and North Adelaide continued to be an important Indigenous living space. All the activities associated with Indigenous life took place in this area - for example ceremonies, meetings, trade, hunting, burials and camping (see Figures 6, 7 & 8).

---

[23] Herbert Hale, Advertiser, 12 December 1926.

[24] Amery 1997, *op. cit.*

[25] Cherie Watkins, pers. comm., June 1998.

[26] E. Johnston, *National Report: Overview and Recommendations, Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody*, Canberra, 1991.

- Pinkie Flat was an important camping/living space prior to and after the establishment of the City of Adelaide.

- As the Park Lands were denuded of trees by the Europeans, Indigenous people were forced to live in areas with remaining shelter, fire-wood and materials for camps (see Figures 17 & 34). The area where the Zoo, the Botanical Gardens and Botanic Park are now located, was the site of camps, 'corroborees', ceremonies, burials and other activities. This part of the Park Lands was heavily relied on as a living space in the mid nineteenth century (see for example Figures 5, 32 & 35). The dead, hollow redgum in the Botanical Gardens was used as a shelter by Indigenous people.[27]

- The famous Adelaide 'fringe-dweller', Tommy Walker, lived in camps throughout the Park Lands in the second half of the nineteenth century (see Figure 11).[28] Robert Foster has located a newspaper reference to him living with other Indigenous people in a camp in the East Park Lands.[29] His camps in this area are also remembered by Margaret (Connie) Roberts, a descendant of Tommy Walker.[30]

- The West Park Lands became a focus for camps in the late nineteenth century and this use continued throughout this century. This area has always been remote from the wealthier parts of the City.

- The Park Lands along the River Torrens have been an ongoing meeting place for Indigenous people. This area is also remembered as the place where a number of Indigenous men volunteered for service in World War I.[31]

- In the nineteenth century the annual distribution of rations and blankets in Adelaide brought many Indigenous people to the City. The Governor made the early distributions at Government House (see Figure 28).[32]

---

[27] Doreen Kartinyeri, pers. comm.

[28] Foster 1998, *op. cit.*

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Connie Roberts interviewed by Garth Agius, June 1998.

[31] Doreen Kartinyeri, *Ngarrindjeri Anzacs*, Adelaide, 1996.

[32] Robert Foster, R. 'Feasts of the full-moon: the distribution of rations to Aborigines in South Australia, 1836-1861', *Aboriginal History* 13 (1), 1989, pp. 63-78.

- The second Native School was established near Kintore Ave (Figure 30). The Aborigines Department continued to be located in this area. The Memorial Park and the Park Lands along the Torrens in this vicinity have been used by Indigenous people when dealing with the Aborigines Department.[33] When people visited the City of Adelaide they were required to report to the Aborigines Department for passes and other instructions. This part of the Park Lands is associated, by many Indigenous people, with the history of control and oppression (see Figure 10).[34]

- The Adelaide Courts and Police Station on Victoria Square have long represented oppression for Indigenous people. The Parks around these Government institutions have been used as meeting spaces whilst waiting for court cases.

- There has been a long history of police surveillance and harassment of Indigenous people in the Park Lands.

- Most of the City Squares have been important as outdoor meeting places. Light Square was a focus for Indigenous people from about the 1920s through to the 1960s. Victoria Square once again became a central meeting place from the 1960s.

- Victoria Square is a place where influential, negative stereotypes of Indigenous people are generated. Indigenous drinking in the Square plays an important part in this process.

- Victoria Square has national significance as the site where the first Aboriginal flag was raised in 1972.

- The Park Lands were used by Kaurna and other Indigenous people for their burials. Many Indigenous people have also been buried in the West Terrace Cemetery. From the early days of 'settlement' the remains of Indigenous people have been disturbed and stolen by Europeans. By the later half of the nineteenth century there was a market

---

[33] Neva Wilson, Alma Ridgeway, Madeline Wilson and Veronica Brodie all discuss this area in oral history interviews carried out as part of the project.

[34] Christobel Mattingley & Ken Hampton, 1988, *Survival in our own land*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1988.

for Indigenous remains for European 'science'. For example Tommy Walker's body was tragically stolen by the City coroner from West Terrace Cemetery.

There is also a history of the 'theft' of the remains of Indigenous people from the Royal Adelaide Hospital. For many years the SA Museum housed the remains of thousands of Indigenous people on North Terrace. The issue of the importance of Indigenous burials and associated human remains continues to be a major issue for Indigenous people. The Park Lands has been a site where this issue has been played out.

- The Kaurna would have performed 'corroborees' (*Palti or Kuri*) in the Park Lands long before the arrival of Europeans (see Figures 4, 7 & 8). From the early years of the establishment of the City of Adelaide the' corroborees' held by the Kaurna and other Indigenous groups attracted much attention from the Europeans. These 'corroborees' performed a range of functions, including telling the story of the impact of European invasion.

  Indigenous people from the Point Mcleay and Point Pearce Missions performed a series of 'corroborees' on Adelaide Oval in 1885 to an audience of 20, 000 people - the largest crowd assembled there to that time. 'Corroborees' were also staged for the European public on the old Exhibitions Grounds (see Figure 31). More recently 'corroborees' have been staged throughout the Park Lands by Indigenous people from all over Australia.

- Indigenous people have participated in, and of course still participate in a range of sports on the Park Lands. There were several prominent Indigenous cricketers playing in the early metropolitan cricket competition. Men from the first South Australian Aboriginal mission station - Poonindie - played games against St Peters College on the edge of the Park Lands (see Figure 34). Importantly, football at Adelaide Oval has provided an opportunity for Indigenous people to capture the minds of the non-Indigenous audience and perhaps challenge some of the negative stereotypes held by many non-Indigenous people.

- Indigenous women have participated in netball on the South Park Lands for many years as part of mixed teams and also as part of Indigenous teams. An annual Youth Festival is held in the South Parklands involving a range of sports.

- Today the Park Lands are a focus for Indigenous cultural, social and political events - Victoria square is a key area for staging political events. Most marches and rallies begin at Victoria Square - the annual NAIDOC March is an important example.

- The Park Lands have been a major site for Reconciliation events. 'The Sea of Hands' staged at Elder Park in 1997, by Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation, was a part of a major national campaign.

- The establishment of the Tandanya Aboriginal Cultural Institute next to the East Park Lands has raised the profile of Indigenous art and culture in the City.

- The South Australian Museum, located on the original Park Lands, holds the largest collection of Indigenous Australian cultural objects and human remains in the world. For many years non-Indigenous people visited the SA Museum to see what was portrayed as authentic traditional culture. The Museum developed a static image of Indigenous culture as 'primitive' and unchanging. The culture of southern South Australian Indigenous people was judged against this artificial model. As a major educational, cultural and research institution the Museum has played a crucial and often negative role in the history of Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations.

- The University of South Australia has two campuses on the edge of the present Park Lands. This University was the first to teach Aboriginal Studies and its Faculty of Aboriginal and Islander Studies is a leader in its field. The University of Adelaide also has an Aboriginal Access Programme called Wilto Yerlo - it is located close to the former site of the Native School Establishment on Kintore Ave.

- The mural of a red kangaroo in the Adelaide Zoo, painted by Bluey Roberts, is one of the few pieces of public art relating to the Kaurna people existing in the present Park Lands.

- Original redgums in the Park Lands are important to Kaurna people.

- Indigenous people still camp in the Park Lands - many are homeless. These people obtain support from organisations such as the Aboriginal Sobriety Group, the Salvation Army, Westcare and other welfare and church organisations.

- Many Indigenous people use areas of the Park Lands for family gatherings and other social events.

3. Recommendations for recognition, interpretation and partnership

3.1 Introduction

These recommendations have been developed during a series of workshops, in discussions with individuals and in close consultation with Garth Agius as a co-ordinator of this project. Several of the recommendations identified in this section address the need to further develop the relationship between the City of Adelaide, the Kaurna and other Indigenous people. These recommendations need to be pursued to enable the proper involvement of Kaurna and other Indigenous groups in the development of the Adelaide Park Lands Management Strategy. Most of the recommendations proposed here relate directly to the City of Adelaide's *Reconciliation Vision Statement* and *National Sorry Day Acknowledgement.* We believe that significant Indigenous involvement in the management of the Adelaide Park Lands will greatly enhance their qualitites for all South Australians.

3.2 Recommendations

- Ongoing mechanisms enabling both Kaurna and more general Indigenous input into the management of the City of Adelaide need to be established, or if already in place, strongly supported.
  - The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and Adelaide City Council Reconciliation Working Party appears to be a good model for general Indigenous input.
  - The City Council needs to meet with Kaurna representatives to discuss their ongoing relationship with the Kaurna community and to develop appropriate mechanisms for Kaurna involvement with the City of Adelaide.
  - The Kaurna believe that the Australian Local Government Association's new *Practical guide to Working Out Agreements between Local Government &*

Indigenous Australians (May 1998) provides extremely useful advise.[35] It could be used as a starting point for discussions between the Council and the Kaurna.

- It was suggested that discussions between the Kaurna community and the City Council be initiated to consider ongoing funding for particular Kaurna programmes. Possible areas of funding could include:
  - The provision of funding to maintain a Kaurna office in the City;
  - The provision of funds to continue Kaurna research to enable the development of appropriate public programmes, exhibitions and specific projects associated with the Park Lands.

- The City Council need to work with the Kaurna and other relevant Indigenous groups to develop a plan to help transform the public image of Indigenous people by emphasising and supporting positive initiatives in Adelaide's Park Lands and Squares. Ideas suggested to achieve this aim include:
  - public Indigenous artwork;
  - commemorative plaques located on significant Kaurna sites;
  - statues of significant Kaurna and South Australian Indigenous people throughout the City;
  - memorials and information bays at the entry points to the City area explaining that this is Kaurna country.
  - the inclusion of a memorial to Indigenous people who have fought in the various wars for Australia;
  - the creation of an Indigenous Adelaide 'icon' to compete with Light's statue;
  - the relocation of Tandanya to a high profile site;
  - the development of a bi-annual, national Indigenous cultural festival.

- It was recommended that the City Council support the establishment of a Kaurna keeping place and cultural centre. The old Parade Ground has been suggested as an ideal site. Indigenous funding sources are available for purchasing land and developing properties such as the Parade Ground.

---

[35] Australian Local Government Association & the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, *Working out agreements between Local Government & Indigenous Australians: a practical guide*, Canberra, 1998.

- A joint approach from the Kaurna community and the City Council could be made for Federation funding.
- It was suggested that the Tandanya Cultural Institute could be relocated to the Parade Ground site.
- It was suggested that a development on the Parade Ground site would be a significant long-term strategy for raising the profile of Indigenous culture in Adelaide. It would also assist with shifting the focus from negative stereotypes generated in Victoria Square.

- There is an urgent need for a formal agreement to be developed between the City Council and the Kaurna to address the preservation and management of the significant Kaurna sites contained within the City Council area.
  - A formal process needs to be set in place for the Council to follow with respect to proposed developments on the Park Lands and the identification of areas of significance to the Kaurna.
  - Ongoing research is required to continue the documentation of Kaurna sites on the Park Lands.
  - There is a need for a Kaurna Ranger to be employed at the City Council.
  - Some concern was expressed that a full understanding of the Indigenous significance of the 'Golf Courses' located in the Park Lands be relayed to Council. Places of significance on the Golf Courses require protection and plans for culturally appropriate management should be developed with the Kaurna, as part of proposals to re-develop the Adelaide Public Golf courses.
  - Ecotourism, cultural tourism and other Indigenous projects in the City of Adelaide, and on the Park Lands, should have formal Kaurna input. Projects incorporating aspects of Kaurna culture and history should be developed jointly with the Kaurna community.

- A smaller scale project could be financially supported by the Council to assist with the compiling of resources on Kaurna culture, and more generally the Indigenous history of the City of Adelaide.[36]

---

[36] See Point 5 'Cultural Identity and Heritage' of the Council's guiding principles in the Reconciliation Vision Statement.

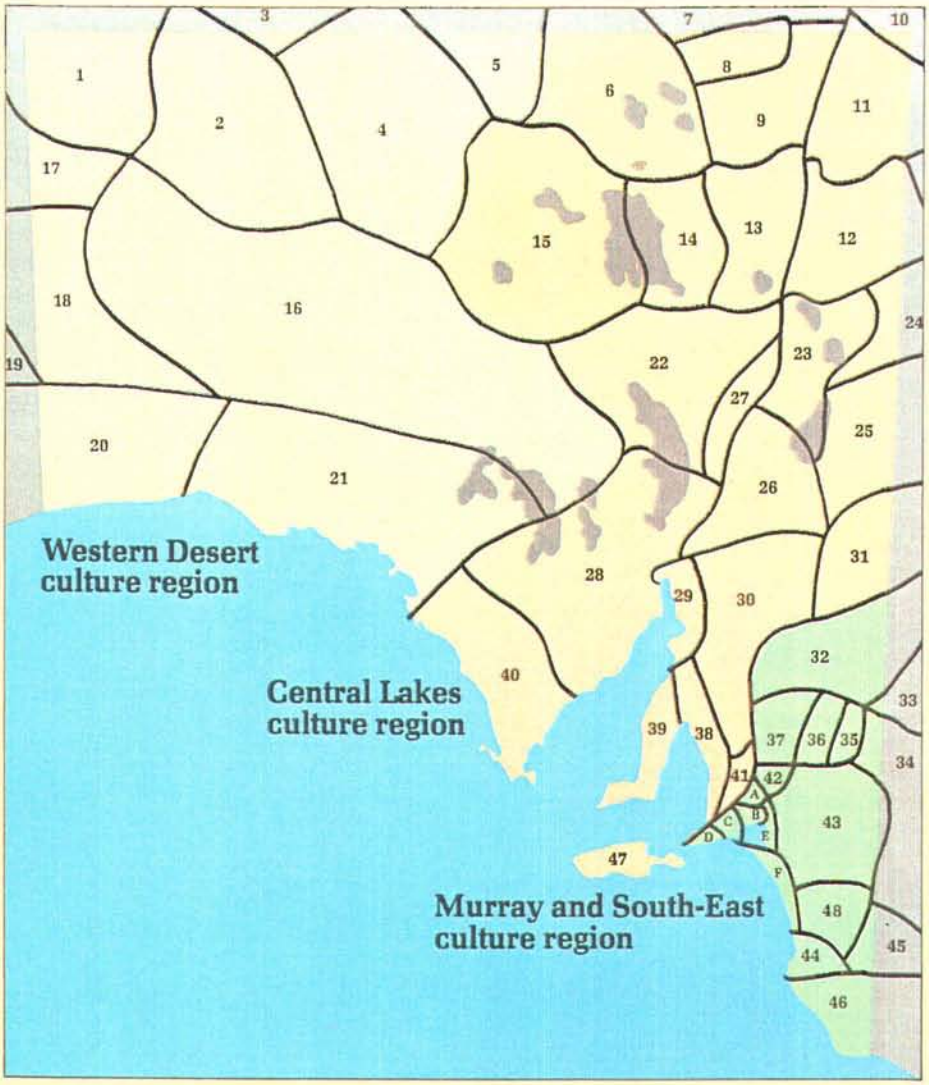
- Many institutions hold important resources concerning Kaurna people. The City Council could assist with facilitating and funding the acquisition of copies of relevant material.
- The costs of making copies of items such as paintings and photographs is very high. It may be possible for the City Council to assist the Kaurna in negotiating a reduction in the costs of acquiring materials from major Australian and overseas institutions.
- This research project, for example, has identified many photographs and paintings that are significant but at this stage too expensive to copy. For example the Mitchell Library in Sydney holds a collection of early watercolours of Indigenous people in Adelaide painted by William Cawthorne. The Cape Town Library holds a collection of Governor Grey's material which includes manuscripts relating to Kaurna culture.
- The Kaurna people need facilities to properly store relevant archival materials, photographs and other resources.
- The Council could provide the costs of publication of Kaurna oral histories and other research. These resources are essential for the development of interpretation and tourist facilities in the City and Park Lands.

- The City Council buildings should prominently display photographs, paintings and statues of significant Indigenous South Australians. There should be a particular emphasis on Kaurna people, for example, *Mullawirraburka* (King John), *Ityamaiitpinna* (King Rodney), *Ivaritji* (Amelia Taylor), *Kudnarto* (Mary Adams), Gladys Elphick, Timothy Hughes and Leila Rankine.

- It is recommended that the Kaurna Naming Project be completed as quickly as possible.

- The City Council should support a broader range of services for Indigenous youth. The employment of a permanent Indigenous youth worker is essential.

- It was suggested that the City of Adelaide organise a meeting between representatives of all City Councils on Kaurna country and the Kaurna community. This meeting could develop a common Local Council approach to working with the Kaurna.



Aboriginal groups and culture regions in South Australia at the time of the arrival of Europeans

1 Pitjantjatjara
2 Jangkundjara
3 Matuntara
4 Antakirinja
5 Aranda, Lower Southern
6 Wongkanguru
7 Jeljendi
8 Karanguru
9 Ngameni
10 Karuwali
11 Jauraworka
12 Jandruwanta
13 Dieri
14 Tirari
15 Arabana
16 Kokata
17 Nakako
18 Ngalea
19 Pindiini
20 Mirning
21 Wirangu
22 Kujani
23 Pilatapa
24 Wadikali
25 Ngurunta
26 Jadliaura
27 Adnyamathanha
28 Pangkala
29 Nukunu
30 Ngadjuri
31 Wiljakali
32 Danggali
33 Maraura
34 Ngintait
35 Erawirung
36 Ngawait
37 Ngaiawang
38 Kaurna
39 Narangga
40 Nauo
41 Peramangk
42 Nganguruku
43 Ngarkat
44 Meintangk
45 Marditjali
46 Bunganditj
47 Unoccupied
48 Potaruwutj

Ngarrindjeri
A Ngaralta
B Portaulun
C Warki
D Ramindjeri
E Jarildekald
F Tanganekald

Fig. 1. Indigenous groups in South Australia (after Tindale 1974)

Fig. 2. Amelia Taylor (*Ivaritji*) in 1928. Photograph by N.B. Tindale, Courtesy of the SA Museum

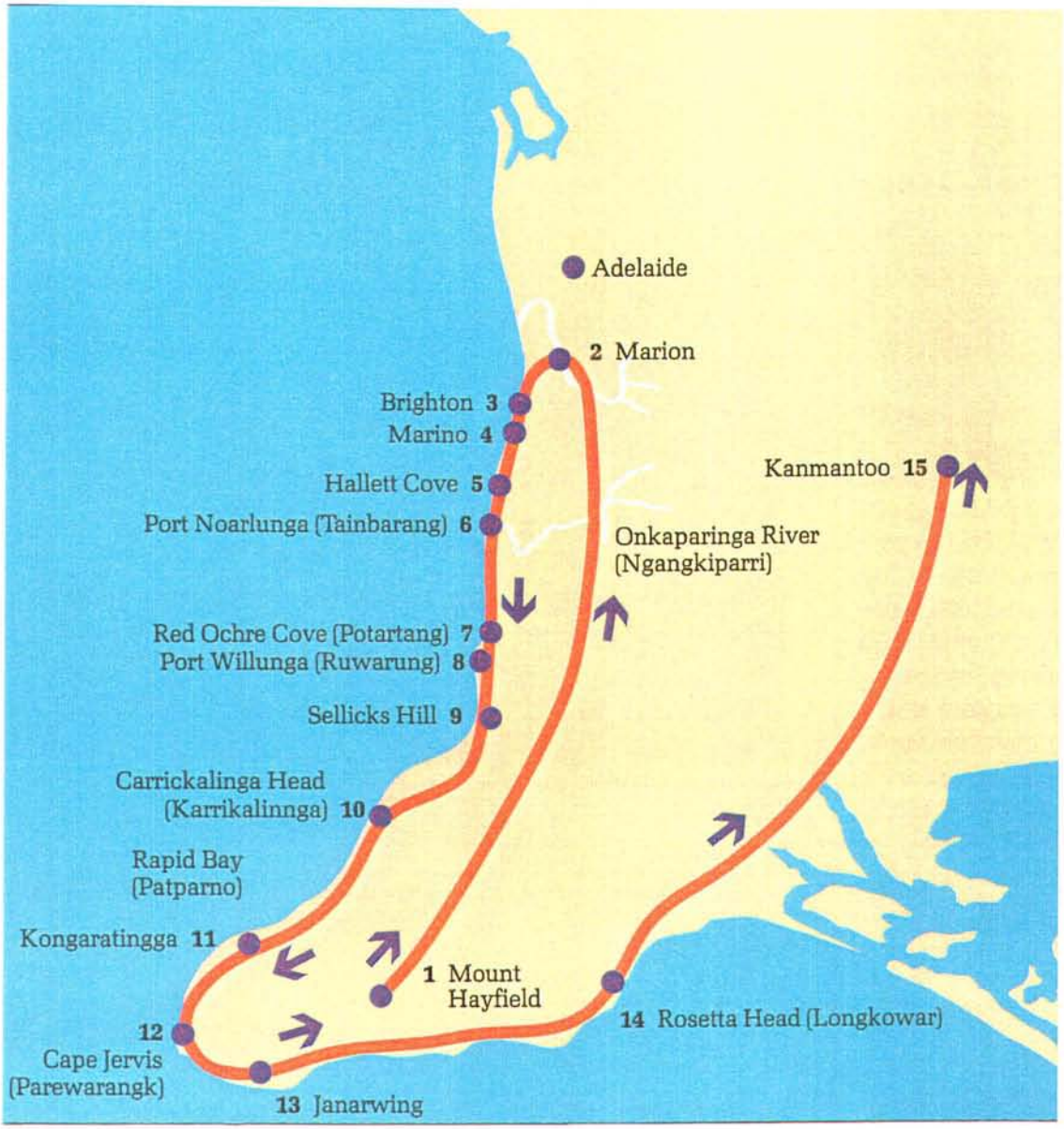


Fig. 3. Tjilbruke Dreaming Track

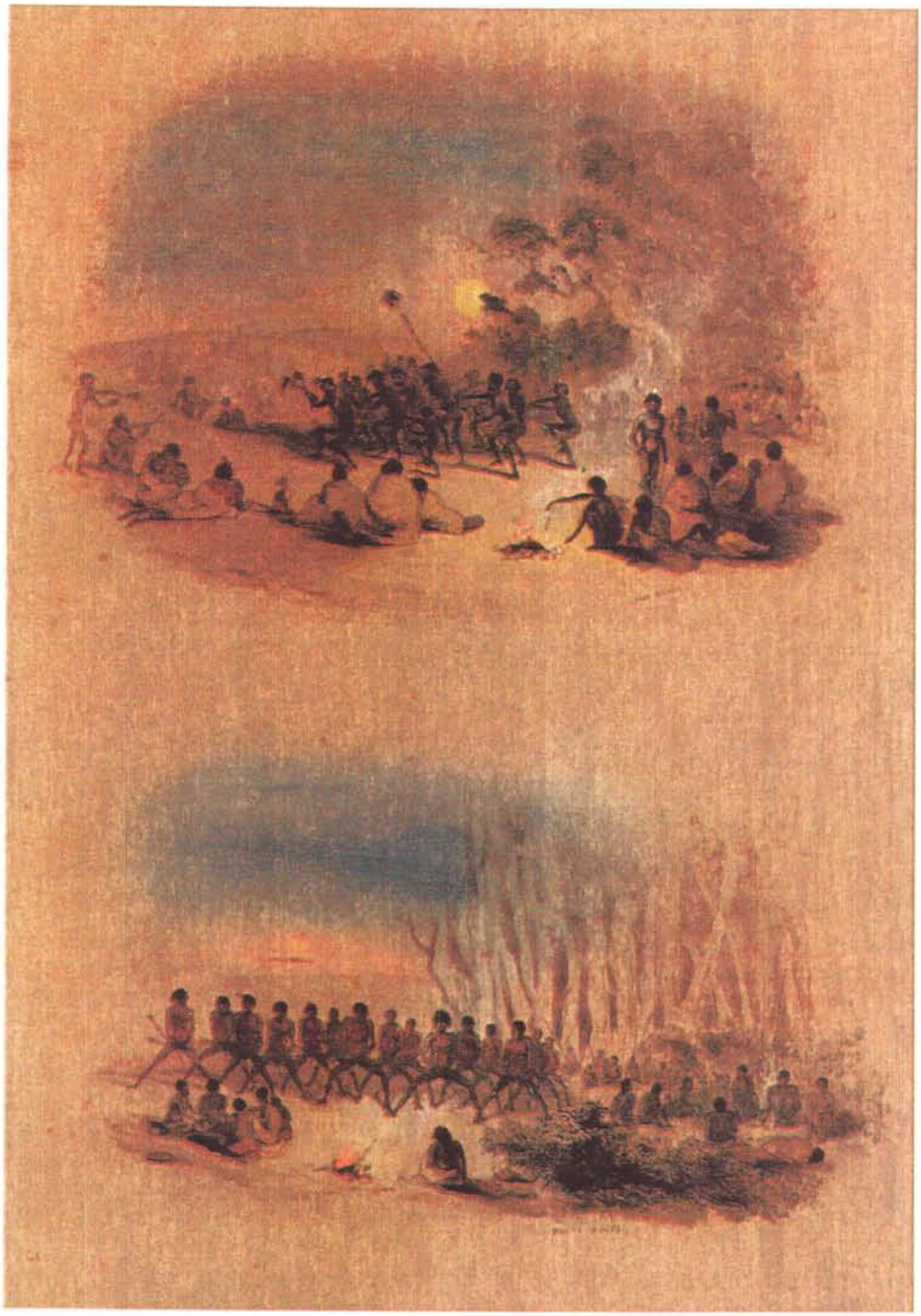


Fig. 4. The Kuri and Palti dances in Adelaide (top and bottom respectively), 1844. Watercolour by G.F.Angas. Courtesy of the SA Museum.

Fig. 5. A Camp in the Adelaide Park Lands c. 1870. N.B.Tindale collection, Courtesy of the SA Museum.

Fig. 6. A camp near Adelaide, c. 1854. Probably painted by Alexander Schramm.
Courtesy of the SA Museum.

Fig. 7. 'Corroboree' at night, near Adelaide c. 1844. Probably painted by W. Cawthorne. Courtesy of SA Museum.

Fig. 8. Kuri Dance in Adelaide, c. 1844. Probably painted by W. Cawthorne. Courtesy of SA Museum.

Fig. 9. Captain Jack (*Kadlitpinna*) in Adelaide, 1884. Watercolour by GF Angas.
Courtesy of the SA Museum.

20

UNCONDITIONAL EXEMPTION FROM THE PROVISIONS OF THE ABORIGINES ACT, 1934-1939.

In pursuance of the powers conferred by section 11a of the Aborigines Act, 1934-1939, the Aborigines Protection Board, being of opinion that TIMOTHY HUGHES of LUCINDALE by reason of his character and standard of intelligence and development, should be exempted from the provisions of the Aborigines Act, 1934-1939, does hereby unconditionally declare that the said TIMOTHY HUGHES shall cease to be an aborigine for the purposes of the said Act.

PHOTOGRAPH OF BEARER

Signature of Bearer T Hughes

The Seal of the Aborigines Protection Board was hereunto affixed on the SIXTEENTH day of MAY 1956, in the presence of

W B Cleland D/ Chairman

Constance M. Cooke Member

C Barrett Secretary

Fig. 10. Exemption certificate - Tim Hughes.

Fig. 11. A camp at Glenelg, c. 1895. Tommy Walker is standing on the right.
Courtesy of SA Museum.

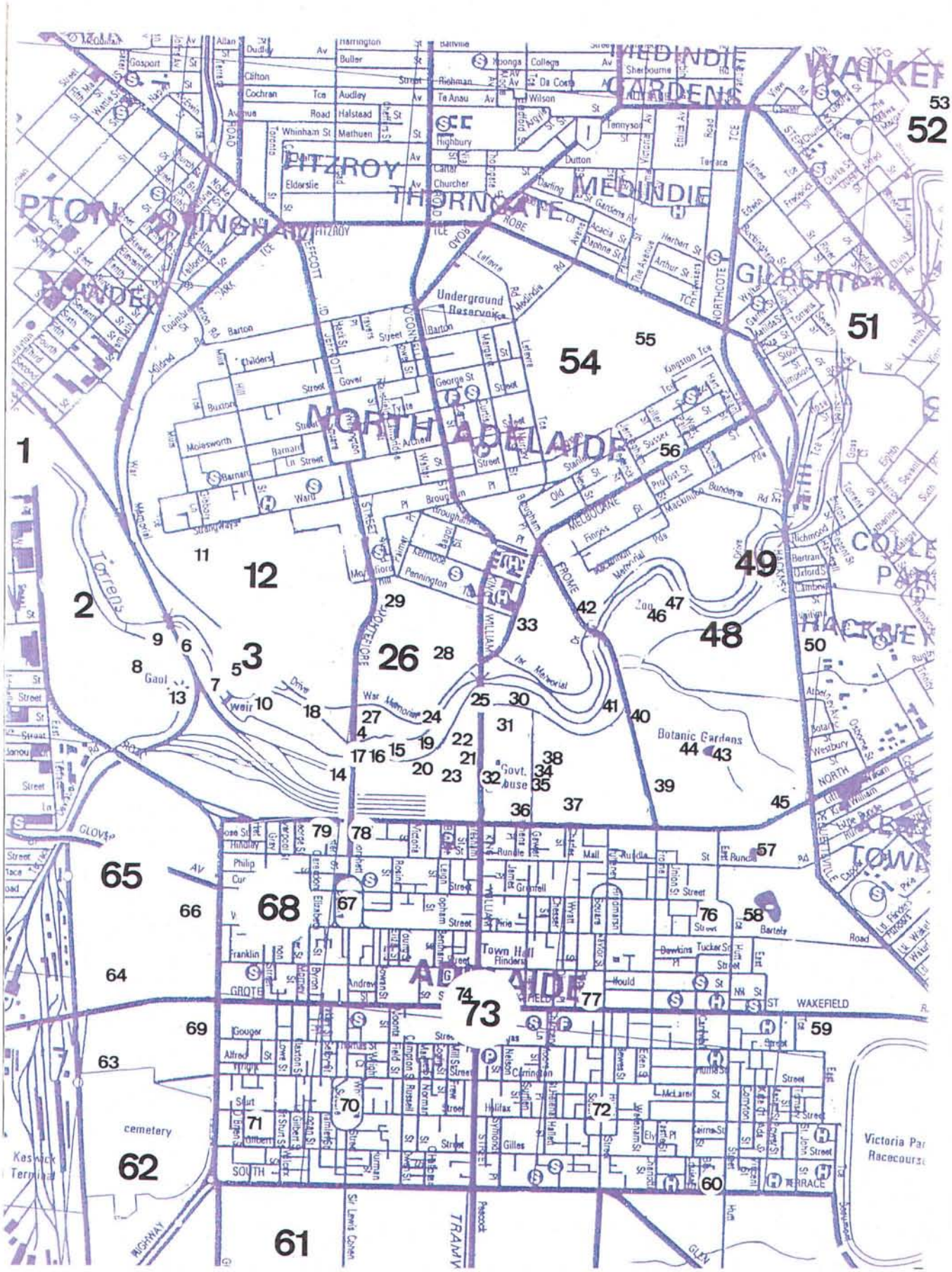


Fig. 12. Historical and Cultural Map of the Parklands

4. Mapping the Indigenous significance of the Park Lands

4.1 Introduction - the Kaurna and their country in 1836[37]

In 1836 Kaurna land extended from near Crystal Brook in the north to Cape Jervis in the south and inland to the Mount Lofty Ranges.[38] The Kaurna possessed a distinctive culture and language and their population probably numbered 1000.[39] A large portion of the Adelaide Plains was already converted into an open woodland and grassland before 1836 by the repeated burning of the vegetation by Kaurna people.

Kaurna territory lies within a comparatively well watered area where a number of intermittent rivers exist and the average rainfall is approximately 35cm. To the north of Adelaide the plains near the coast were covered with mallee vegetation, while closer to the hills stands of blue gum (*Eucalyptus leucoxylon*) and peppermint box (*E. odorata*) grew. On the plains around Adelaide scattered forests of blue gum, red gum (E. camaldulensis) and peppermint box existed in pockets surrounded by grasslands. In fact, early 'settlers' sometimes became lost in a forest where the suburb of Norwood now stands.

This area was rich in animal and plant food. Larger game like kangaroos and emu were plentiful, as were the smaller animals: bandicoots, possums, rodents, reptiles and many species of birds. There were also numerous edible plants such as roots of the Bulrush (*Typha sp.*), fruits of the Nitre Bush (*Nitraria schoberi*), gum from the Golden Wattle (*Acacia pycrantha*), and sugar lerps on the leaves of the Red Gum (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*).

---

[37] This text is based on part of a South Australian Museum exhibition developed by Steve Hemming in 1981 entitled the Aboriginal People of South Australia. This exhibition text was converted into a booklet: Steve Hemming & Philip Clarke, *Aboriginal people of South Australia*, Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Canberra, 1989.

[38] This description of territory is based on Norman B. Tindale's delineation of tribal boundaries in N. B. Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*, University of California Press, U.S.A, 1974.

[39] This figure includes population estimates covering the area from Cape Jervis to Crystal Brook.

The Kaurna had an active ritual and religious life and the abundance of food and water resources in the area allowed large groups of people to gather for long periods of time to participate in ceremonies. There are records of large ceremonies on the Park Lands in the early years of 'settlement'.[40]

In the winter possum, wallaby and kangaroo skin rugs were worn as protection from the elements. These cloaks were elaborately incised on the inside. One well-known site for curing skins was the Aldinga Swamp. Nets for fishing and trapping birds and larger game were widely used. In warfare the Kaurna used a variety of weapons. Warfare was ritualised and disputes were settled with limited bloodshed. Kaurna shields (*wocaltee*), made from eucalyptus bark and decorated with red and white pigments, were particularly distinctive (see Figure 9).[41] Only a few examples of early Kaurna material culture have survived due to the early impact of invasion. The Adelaide Plains, however, still bear signs of early Kaurna occupation, although these sites are constantly under threat from vandalism and urban development. Today Kaurna people are striving to preserve their important places. As pointed out throughout this report there are a wide range of culturally significant places in the Adelaide area.

---

[40] Robert Foster (ed.) Sketch of the Aborigines of South Australia, References in the Cawthorne Papers, Aboriginal Heritage Branch, S.A. Dept of Environment and Planning, Oct 1991.

[41] Steve Hemming, 'Lower Murray shields: an historical perspective', *Records of the S.A. Museum* 24 (2), 1990, pp. 125-38.

4.2 *The Park Lands - some historical and anthropological issues*[42]

The Park Lands have provided a place for the gathering of Indigenous people from all around South Australia since the early days of invasion. They are the space in which the full impact of colonialism was first experienced by Indigenous South Australians. The first hangings of Indigenous people took place on the Park Lands at *Piltawodli*, in front of the Colonial store. The control and oppression of Indigenous Australians by successive Governments has continued to the present and many of the key institutions involved in this oppression have been located on Government reserves situated on the original Park Lands.

The Park Lands were a living space for Indigenous people before the establishment of the City of Adelaide. After the City and Park Lands were layed out the lives of the Indigenous people became a spectacle for the Europeans. Their life was interfered with on all levels and the authorities attempted to forcibly move them away from the city. They have, however, continued to use the Park Lands. The open spaces of the Squares and Park Lands have made it difficult to obscure the negative consequences of invasion and dispossession. These images have continued to contribute to the development of negative stereotypes of Indigenous people. Today the image of Indigenous drinkers in Victoria Square dominates the consciousness of the general non-Indigenous population.

During the nineteenth century Indigenous ceremonies attracted much attention from the local 'settlers'. Missionaries and religious people strongly disapproved and attempted to put a stop to Indigenous ceremonies. Others saw these events as fascinating 'primitive rituals' - they were early examples of cultural tourism.[43] Indigenous people eventually used this interest to provide financial support to their travels. They put on public performances

---

[42] The 'Project Brief' for this report contained the request to include a statement regarding this topic. There has been little time to produce an adequate coverage of these themes. Various anthropological and historical issues have been raised throughout this report, however, and we have included a couple of key points in this brief section.

[43] Mike Parsons, Dances with Worlds - Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in Adelaide in the 19th Century, (n.d.). Unpublished manuscript.

around southern South Australia for local whites and were paid small amounts for their time.[44]

In the early years public performances for white dignitaries may have been made with positive intentions. Later performances on Adelaide Oval for example, attempted to communicate with the whites the impact of the European invasion on Indigenous people.[45] Performances were also staged at the Adelaide Royal Shows at the rear of the Exhibition building. Indigenous people incorporated their historical and contemporary experience into their performances but pressure was exerted by a range of forces, including the media, for them to perform what was considered traditional ceremonies or 'corroborees'.

This pressure by the non-Indigenous community to produce a 'fossilisation' of Indigenous traditions continued throughout the twentieth century. Indigenous people were not allowed to change, to incorporate their contemporary experiences into their 'traditions'- they were portrayed as either traditional 'full-blood Aborigines' or 'half-castes' with no culture. South-eastern Aboriginal people were soon characterised as being without authentic culture, not 'real' Aborigines.[46] This image continues to be influential amongst non-Indigenous people. This misunderstanding leads to many problems for Kaurna people today in their interactions with non-Indigenous people. It can result in non-Indigenous people characterising places such as the Adelaide Park Lands as having no remaining Indigenous significance. This is of course not the case. The Park Lands possess Indigenous significance that ranges from contemporary, political 'sacred' places, such as the site where the first Aboriginal flag was raised, through to major Dreamings such as the Red Kangaroo.

---

[44] *Ibid.* & Steve Hemming, 1987 'Reminiscences of Aborigines in the Adelaide Hills', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia*, 25 (4), 1987, pp. 3-8.

[45] *Ibid.*, no. 43, p. 21. *Advertiser* 1/6/85.

[46] See Marcia Langton, 'Urbanising Aborigines, the social scientists great deception', *Social Alternatives*, vol. 2, 1981, no. 2, pp. 16-22.

4.3 An Historical and Cultural Map of the Parklands

4.3.1 Introduction

This section provides some specific details to complement the overview of places of Indigenous significance presented in section two of the report. The information for the Historical and Cultural Map (Figure 12) comes from a range of sources: the oral histories of Indigenous people; early settlers' diaries; missionaries' diaries; records of European oral histories; archival collections; libraries; consultation with specialists in Aboriginal history and language; pictorial collections; Museum records; other Government records; and Archaeological observations and records. It is a brief description, gathered over a short period of time. It is intended to provided a broad overview of Indigenous connections with the Park Lands. Many of these connections are associated with Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations. Some of the records owe more to the interests of the non-Indigenous recorders than the actual lives of the Indigenous people themselves.

4.3.2 Places recorded on Cultural and Historic Map (Fig. 12)

1. Hindmarsh (*Karra(k)undungga*[47])

Hindmarsh is included because it is just beyond the Park Lands stretch of the River Torrens and is integral to this part of the Kaurna landscape. Information from a number of sources suggests that Hindmarsh was a major Kaurna burial site. For example Bishop Short in giving evidence to a Parliamentary Select Committee said that, 'The Adelaide Tribe ... used to come down to Hindmarsh to bury.'[48] Lewis O'Brien was given similar information by Kaurna Elder, Gladys Elphick.[49] Hindmarsh as a burial area is also supported by the existence of a registered site on the Aboriginal Site Register (No. 6628 -

---

[47] Lewis O'Brien talking to Steve Hemming and Rhondda Harris, Oral History, Park Lands Project, 25/5/98.

[48] J.M. Black, 'Vocabularies of four South Australian languages - Adelaide, Narrunga, Kukata, and Narrinyeri - with special reference to their speech sounds', *Transactions of the Royal Society of S.A.* 44, 1920, pp. 76-93.

Black, 1920:81, Unley Museum Research Notes for the Exhibition Same Story, Different Places, 1996.

[49] *Ibid.*, no. 47.

3004) following the discovery of Aboriginal human remains from several individuals near the River Torrens at Hindmarsh.

2. Bonython Park

The second interim Protector of Aborigines, Walter Bromley, was appointed in April, 1837. He was allocated the site of the proposed Botanic Gardens to carry out his duties.[50] The Botanic Gardens had a series of proposed sites. The first being an island in the River Torrens in what is now Bonython Park (Figure 13). This site was never used as a Botanic Garden due to flooding.[51] It may have been the second proposed site on the south side of the River near the Gaol which Bromley was first allocated. Bromley received the following instruction to move to what later became known as the Native Location. He writes that, 'it being desirable that I should remove my tent [to] about a mile from the town to a place chosen by the natives close to the river'.[52] Importantly, it appears that the Kaurna had a major role in the selection of the site for the Native Location. The site was directed by the authorities to be the 'traditional', one mile from the City. 'One mile' fringe-camps can be found throughout Australia.

Lewis O'Brien believes that *Mullawirraburka* or King John obtained a section of land in the Bonython Park area. Until a few years ago Indigenous organisations held regular Christmas parties for children in Bonython Park.[53]

3. 'Aborigines Location' or 'Native Location' (*Piltawodli*)

The Kaurna name for the area is *Piltawodli*, *Pilta* meaning 'opossum' and *wodli* meaning 'house or hut'.[54] Bromley moved to what was to become the 'Native Location' in late 1837. The Location's general boundaries can be seen in Kingston's 1842 Map of Adelaide (Figure 14). The historian Robert Foster records that by early 1838 there was a fenced in area with a store, schoolhouse and residence for an interpreter and twelve huts built by the

---

[50] State Records, GRG 24/4/1837/68.

[51] B. Best, *George William Francis. First Director of the Adelaide Botanic Garden.* Privately published by the author in conjunction with Botanic Gardens of Adelaide, 1986, p. 28.

[52] State Records, CO 13/9 29 November 1837.

[53] This was talked about at the KACHA Community Workshop at the Adelaide Town Hall, 16/6/98.

[54] C.G. Teichelmann & C.W. Schurmann, *Outlines of a grammar, vocabulary and phraseology of the Aboriginal language of South Australia spoken by the natives in, and for some distance around Adelaide*, Robert Thomas and Co., Adelaide, 1840.

local Indigenous people.[55] By 1840 there were thirteen buildings in the complex. These included cottages for two German missionaries, Teichelmann and Schurmann, a 'Native School', substantial huts for Indigenous people and houses for the officers of the Aborigines Department .[56] During this period there was constant conflict between visiting Indigenous people from the Murray River and the local Kaurna people. The Encounter Bay people usually assisted the Kaurna against the Murray people.

In 1845 the Indigenous children at the Location were moved to the new 'Native School Establishment' east of Government House. Many of the Location buildings were demolished and the Sappers took over most of the remaining buildings.[57] However, the Aborigines Department attempted to use the Location as a place to restrict the movements of the Indigenous people and for this purpose ten brick sheds were built in 1846, seven on the north side of the Torrens for the 'Murray Tribe' and three on the south side for the 'Adelaide Tribe'.[58] These sheds were lived in only intermittently, but people continued to periodically camp in the area. Tom Gara points out that the last Queen's Birthday distributions of rations and blankets was at the Location in 1851, after which they were distributed in the Botanic Park area.[59] Freeling's 1849 map (Figure 15) depicts some of the Location buildings occupied by the Sappers, as well as the ten brick sheds.

The following excerpt from a letter written in 1846 by the Protector of Aborigines documents the use made of the Location area over a period of six years.

> The adults have for six years been allowed to locate on a plot of Park Land between the South Side of the Port Road and the Torrens, and extending to the Eastward and Westward of the old Location fence 400 yards.[60]

---

[55]'Robert Foster, The Aborigines Location in Adelaide: South Australia's First "Mission" To The Aborigines', *Aboriginal Adelaide, Special Issue of The Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia*, 28 (1), 1990, pp. 11-37.

[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

[57] Samuel Gotlieb Klose, 1841-1845 Diary, Native Location, Adelaide, Translated from the German by Lutheran Archives: K60, 3 July 1845.

[58] GRG35/2, 27 July 1846.

[59] Tom Gara, 1988 Some Aboriginal Sites in the Adelaide Area, The Aboriginal Camp at Botanic Park, Draft paper 27/4/98, p. 3.

[60] State Records, GRG 52/7/1, Protector of Aborigines, Letterbook, 18 Feb 1846.

A second reference adds to information on th extent of the Location area:

> [the] northern boundary should be the ditch or dry river bed, which is not far from the Harbour Road.[61]

The 'Harbour' or 'Port' Road appears to refer to the dotted path on Freeling's map which runs past the dump (see Figure 16) and which was the most direct route to Port Adelaide, not to what we know of today as the Port Road.

The former site of the Location is within the Park Lands - now part of the Adelaide Golf Course. It is extremely important as an historical and cultural area. This place has significance primarily to the Kaurna but due to its central role in the history of South Australian race relations it also has importance for all South Australians. Undoubtedly the ground beneath the Golf Course still contains important archaeological evidence of the early history of the area. An adaptation of Freeling's 1849 map placed onto an aerial photograph of the Golf Course shows where on the ground the remains of these buildings are likely to be (see Figure 16). Many of the buildings were no longer standing at the time Freeling drew his map, and a second overlay to Figure 16 gives a preliminary idea of current surface evidence in the area.

The large dump currently visible north of War Memorial Drive is particularly interesting. It corresponds with two references to the boundary line of the Location and is likely to have been the main dump for the Location. It is, therefore, an important potential source of knowledge about the lives of the people in the area - the Indigenous people, the missionaries, the Protector and, after 1845, the Sappers and others. It has recently been partially ransacked, possibly due to news of plans to redevelop the Golf Course and its preservation or archaeological excavation needs urgent consideration.

A photograph of the Location area in 1865 (Townsend Duryea's Panorama of Adelaide) (Figure 17) shows some remaining Location buildings. One of these is a former missionary cottage, reportedly still standing in 1888.[62] The same photograph also shows the nearby Colonial Store.

4. Open-air 'Native school'

---

[61] Schurmann Diary, 12 July 1839.

[62] Letter from Teichelmann's granddaughter, City Archives, File 2658/1935.

On arrival in Adelaide the Lutheran missionaries Teichelmann and Schurmann lived in the vacant wooden school on the Location.[63] It appears that they initially set-up an open-air school a little distance from the Location until a more substantial school was built.

> Soon after their arrival Schurmann, assisted by his colleague Teichelmann, opened a school for aboriginal children ... This school was at first held in the open air ... The locality where the school was held was, according to Schurmann, not very distant from the place where the first bridge across the Torrens was constructed a little later - some little distance east of the (missionaries) 'cottages'.[64]

The bridge mentioned here is east of the current Morphett Street Bridge and its position can be seen on Kingston's 1842 map and on Freeling's 1849 map (Figures 14 & 15).

5. 'Native School'

The 'substantial' Native School was opened in December, 1839. A sketch drawn by William Cawthorne on 15 September, 1843 is possibly the only image.[65] Along with his other drawings of Indigenous people in the Park Lands, it is lodged in the Mitchell Library (Figure 18).[66] Klose took over from Schurmann as the main teacher at the school and his diary concentrates on the daily running of the school. He does, however, provide valuable records of the absences of children on hunting trips, for funeral ceremonies, to attend corroborees and intertribal fights. Klose taught children in their own language and examples of Kaurna language survive in his diary. The Kaurna language is again being taught to Kaurna children and adults.[67]

6. 'Adelaide Tribe' Sheds

Brick sheds were built after the main period of the Location in an effort to concentrate Aboriginal people in one place. The 'Adelaide' sheds were separated from similar sheds in the Old Location area north of the River which were for the 'Murray Tribes'. Indigenous

---

[63] Letter from Schurmann to Angas, 12 June 1839, copy in N.B. Tindale, Papers with Adelaide Tribe Notes, South Australian Museum.

[64] Pastor A Braur, Account of Missionary Clamor Wilhelm Schurmann, Adelaide City Archives, in Docket 2658/1935.

[65] William A. Cawthorne, Literarium Diarum 22 Oct 1842 - 31 Dec 1843 CY Reel 214 No 868.

[66] The image included in this report is a photocopy of a poor quality copy.

[67] Kaurna elders have sought assistance from the linguist Rob Amery to facilitate the teaching of the Kaurna language.

people lived in these sheds only spasmodically - they leaked and were poor shelters in winter.[68] The remains of these 'sheds' are, however, probably still in situ. The area where the 'Adelaide tribe' sheds stood, judging from Freeling's 1849 map, is currently partly covered by bitumen pathway, partly easily accessible, and partly covered by the edge of the railway embankment.

7. Burials - the Torrens west of the Weir

The section of the river west of the weir has been affected by the landscaping of the Golfcourse. Wilson notes that, 'Still, works on the banks in this area turn up the bones of Aboriginal graves, indicating that the site has not been completely destroyed by landscaping'.[69]

8. 'Billabong'

A 'billabong' near the Slaughterhouse was filled in with rubbish in the 1880s.[70] This area would have provided a range of important food sources for the local Kaurna people.

9. First Railway Bridge - Painting by John Glover, 1856

This painting by John Glover (Figure 19) shows a group of Indigenous people sitting by the base of the Railway Bridge. This, along with Calvert's 1850s sketch (Figure 20), shows that Indigenous people were still using the whole extent of the Torrens in the 1850s, even though their camps were by now concentrated in the more heavily wooded areas in the Botanic Park area and near the Hackney Bridge. The Colonial Store can be clearly seen in the background of Glover's painting.

10. S. Calvert Sketch of the Torrens, in the 1850s, probably before 1856.

This sketch (Figure 20) shows the Torrens near *Piltawodli* on the left bank, looking east. Note the cattle yards which appear in Freeling's 1849 map (Figure 15).

11. Colonial Store, also called the Iron Store (*Tinninyawodli*)[71]

---

[68] State Records, GRG 52/7/1, Letter from Moorhouse, 28 January 1848.

[69] Wilson, The Making of the River Torrens: a study of the forces working on a planned cultural landscape of the 19th and 20th centuries. Honours Archaeology, Flinders University, 1995, p. 29.

70 Park Rangers Report 1885-86:108, Adelaide City Archives.

71 Amery, *op. cit.*

The Colonial Store was just to the north west of the Location and was the site of hangings of Indigenous people. The following extracts provide descriptions of these tragic events:

> A scaffold was erected in front of the iron stores on the Park Land, North Adelaide ... On passing the native huts immediately after the execution, we found the women and children and many of the men lamenting, in a most piteous manner.[72]

> All the natives, particularly the relatives and tribal friends of the condemned ones, were deeply touched and cried very much. On many morning and evenings I heard their touching laments and condolences.[73]

There was considerable interaction between the storekeepers and the Indigenous people who lived in the area. One report describes Indigenous people being provided with wood cutting equipment for the purpose of selling wood at the store to the settlers.[74]

The remains of the Colonial Store can still be seen on the surface and a number of wooden steps leading up the hill away from the Store are still in place. Remains of two rubbish tips can be seen nearby (Figure. 16). Despite the landscaping of the golf course it is probable that other archaeological evidence has survived. The Colonial Store is an important heritage site for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous South Australians. The archaeological remains in the area need further investigation and protection.

12. Near the Colonial or Iron Stores

The Missionary Schurmann describes this place as a major camping area of the *Wirra meyunna*.[75] Schurmann described this group as 'forest men' (wirra = forest) 'from the North' who regularly visited the 'Adelaide Tribe'. Rob Amery equates the *Wirra meyunna* with the Ngadjuri people. He identifies *Tarnda meyunna* (people of the Red Kangaroo), *Wito meyunna* (people of the reeds) and*Taralye meyunna* (people of the sticks - referring

---

[72] S.A. Register, June 1, 1839, p. 5c1.

[73] Schurmann Diary, 31 May, 1839.

[74] State Records, GRG 52/7/1.

[75] Shurmann Diary, Jan 7, 1840.

to the wooden fence around the Native Location) as terms recorded in the early literature for the Indigenous people from the Adelaide area.[76]

13. Adelaide Gaol

The Adelaide Gaol was right on the doorstep of *Piltawodli* (Figure 21) and after hangings stopped outside the Colonial Store they continued at the gaol. In 1843 Cawthorne writes in his diary of 'another poor native going to be hung', and of his shock 'to see men and boys running actually to see this sad spectacle, as if to an Exhibition'.[77] In 1842 Klose writes that there were '12 Aboriginal prisoners in gaol - 4 locals, 4 Murray, 2 Encounter Bay, 2 Port Lincoln'.[78] The Protector, Moorhouse reported on the practice of locking up 'stranger natives' for 24 hours for being in a state of nudity.[79] Klose mentions an Aboriginal man in gaol 'for ten years for stealing some of the South Australian Companies 12 thousand sheep'.[80]

Indigenous people today are only too aware of the history of Adelaide gaol and its connection with Indigenous people. They are aware of the hangings that took place there and the unmarked Indigenous graves in the yard of the gaol.[81] This part of the Park Lands has great significance for Indigenous people.

14. View of North Terrace, about 1841. Opie's Lithograph

A lithograph by Opie depicts an Aboriginal shelter or wurley along this section between the river and North Terrace (Figure 22). The land next to this stretch of the river is now almost completely covered by railway lines. The river bank has been landscaped and at present includes huge piles of dredging material from the river. The bridge at the ford crossing can be seen on the far left.

---

[76] Amery 1997, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[77] Cawthorne Diaries, 20 July and 1 August, 1843.

[78] Klose Diary, 12 September 1842.

[79] State Records, GRG 52/7/1, Letter from Moorhouse to Colonial Office, 6 April, 1843.

[80] Klose Diary, 28 May 1845.

[81] This issue was discussed at a meeting with the Kaurna Elders Inc., 26/6/98.

15. The old ford and first bridge across the Torrens

William Cawthorne wrote detailed observations of Aboriginal people camped around the old Morphett Bridge area in the early 1840s.[82] He gives the impression of sometimes hundreds of Indigenous people camped in this area, living in separate 'tribal' groups but in close proximity.

16. Aboriginal encampment on the south side of the Torrens, near the first bridge, Davenport watercolour (Fig. 23)

The caption on the Mortlock Library photograph of this print reads:

> The bridge on the left was situated about 200 yards east of the present Morphett street Bridge. Very close to it was the ford, where the bullock drays crossed at such times as the bridge was out of repair and where the water carters used to fill their barrels for domestic consumption ... Towards the left of the picture can be seen the quarry from which limestone was blasted for the public buildings. The picture shows the two roads which approached the bridge and ford from South Adelaide: one from Morphett Street and the other from King William Street.

Cawthorne provides a further description of Indigenous life in this part of the Park Lands.

> The other night they being encamped above the bridge, a policeman came with orders to burn all their wurlies or huts, which was done, and the whole tribe had to decamp ... they turned away apparently disgusted ... The reason for them burning them out was because they swam and made the water so dirty above the hole where the whole town was supplied from. Still I thought it was hard, that the real possessors of the land could not make a fire where they liked.[83]

Another example of the continuing Police harassment of Indigenous people on the Park Lands relates to the South side of the Torrens.

> The police having repeatedly and in vain, warned the black natives not to erect their temporary places of abode, called wurlies, on the south side of the river, unwisely deemed it necessary to burn them (the said wurlies). The blacks, as may be supposed, were much enraged, and threatened mischief.[84]

---

[82] Foster 1991, *op. cit.*

[83] Cawthorne Diary, 27 January 1843.

[84] Register, 8 December 1847.

17. Burial - bed of the River Torrens

Cawthorne gives a graphic account of the burial of a 'Mount Barker' man killed in a battle at Holdfast Bay. He was buried in the bed of the River Torrens . The 'Mount Barker' people 'told all the whitefellas there looking on to go away'.[85]

18. Burials - near Morphett St Bridge

Tindale collected the reminiscences of an early Adelaide 'settler', Mr. Chalk. Chalk writes that in about 1846:

> Native child died and was ... the mother lit fire over grasses to keep child warm, buried near Morphett St Bridge ...Burial ground at north side about Morphett St. Three cottages east of view. Sappers and Miners. Aboriginal shelters west of this, behind gaol.[86]

19. River Torrens - *Tanda:njapari , Karrauwirraparri*

Thomas Day, an early resident of Adelaide, provides the following early memory of Indigenous life along the Torrens.

> Women and children spent most of their time at the Torrens river - children bathing and practicing with spear and small waddy - Women crab[b]ing and going in the river with a net bag and picking up cockles. I have seen them go down - And I thought they would never rise again, They got many cockels And rose again on the other side after being under water A long time. The river torrens was A chain of water holes very deep When not in flood. It was full of timber Very dangerous to go amongst. Their time was also employed making mats, nets and rope clothes lines ... They would then sell or exchange for food from the settlers. ...[87]

---

[85] Cawthorne Diary, 24 December 1842.

[86] N.B. Tindale, 1935-1939 Adelaide Tribe Notes, S. A. Museum, AA 338, notes from Mr Chalk, 7/11/26.

[87] Thomas Day, Memories of the Extinct Tribe of Cowandilla, 1902. His original and possibly only pencil account was collected by the anthropologist Norman Tindale, and is now housed as part of his donated collection in the South Australian Museum. These memories relate to prior to the period prior to 1847.

Tindale records many food sources in the river such as fresh water cockles (*unio dubia*), *Ngampa* (edible roots) and *kar'li* (crayfish).[88] On a number of occasions Indigenous 'sorcerers' from the North threatened to charm the river so that the white people would die.[89] Women and children hid behind the banks of the Torrens to avoid seeing restricted men's ceremonies.[90]

There was continual pressure from the 'settlers' to move the Indigenous people away from the River Torrens. The following 1840 newspaper editorial illustrates this point.

> Something ... ought to be done to keep the Natives out of the river. From the Botanic Garden, downwards, it is full of them; not much, we should think, to the improvement of the water, which all the inhabitants who have not wells are obliged to use.[91]

20. Meeting place for Aboriginal people c.1930s -1960s

The banks of the Torrens River have continued to be an important place for Indigenous people. The area near the Festival Theatre was an important meeting place for Indigenous people in the City during the period from 1930s to the 1960s.[92]

21. *Tarnda Kanya*

Rob Amery has provided this term and a location for the possible source of the term *Tarndanya*, the Kaurna name for Adelaide. He locates *Tarnda Kanya* in the Elder Park area - a place where substantial rock was quarried by the early 'settlers. He gives the following explanation:

> tarnda 'red kangaroo' (principal totem of the Adelaide clan) + kanya 'rock' being the likely source of Tarndanya, the Kaurna name Adelaide.[93]

22. Aboriginal camp at Elder Park

---

[88] N. B. Tindale, Notes on the Adelaide Tribe, SA Museum.

[89] Schurmann Diary, 16 June, 1839; also GRG52/7/1, Letter from Moorhouse, 10 October 1849.

[90] Rob Amery, Consultation to Adelaide City Council, 1997, p. 10.

[91] Editorial comment, *The Register*, 5 Feb 1840, pp. 5-6.

[92] This point was made during oral history interviews with Neva Wilson, Madeline Wilson, Alma Ridgeway and Veronica Brodie.

[93] Amery, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

Derek Whitelock writes about what was described as a general 'clean-up' of the Park Lands in 1849 which included removing an Indigenous camp at Elder Park - '(an) aboriginal camp at what later became Elder Park was removed'.[94]

23. NAIDOC March

The annual NAIDOC March usually begins in Victoria Square, stops outside Parliament House, and ends with a meeting at Elder Park. It is the principle march for Indigenous people each year. Although this is a common route used by other marchers, it has particular meaning for Indigenous people.

24. Plaque on the Adelaide Bridge depicting a wurley and Aboriginal people on the edge of the Torrens. (Figure 24)

This plaque is possibly the only existing public memorial incorporating a recognition of the presence of Indigenous people in the Park Lands. It is on the north east pylon of the Adelaide Bridge. It depicts the first bridge and an Indigenous camp. The existence of two other plaques have been mentioned by Indigenous people. Margaret (Connie) Roberts remembers a plaque in cement near one of Tommy Walker's camping places near East Terrace. Lewis O'Brien remembers another plaque at the entrance to the Botanic Gardens which stated that Indigenous people had the right to continue camping in the Botanic Gardens for fifteen years after it was opened. Several Indigenous individuals are included in the commemorative plaques along the North Terrace footpath.

25. S.T. Gill painting, showing a camp on the south side of the river where the Adelaide Bridge now stands. (Figure 25)

Old Government House in the background of this painting was in the middle of present-day King William Street.

26. A Major living area - north of the Torrens

This area along the north bank of the Torrens is recorded by the early 'settlers' as a place of immense Indigenous activity (camps, ceremonies, cooking, meetings etc.). It was often traversed by 'settlers' on their way between North and South Adelaide. The following are some of their observations.

---

[94] Derek Whitelock, *Adelaide 1836-1976 A History of Difference*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1977, p. 186.

> In coming over North Adelaide ... (in a cart) ... we had to pass the natives encampment ... the dim form of the various wurlies and the glowing light of the many fires ... The Aborigines often set fire to a whole tree which at night forms a curious spectacle.[95]

> Hearing that there was going to be a corroberry this evening, I marched down with Thomas and William Hay. Arriving there I walked through each successive encampment for there are ever so many ...[96]

> As many as a hundred naked and ornamented savages joined in the performance of a (corroberrie) ... of a surpassing kind, commencing about nine in the morning, on the north side of the river.[97]

> Their camping ground was on the north side of the Torrens. The government built them little brick sheds but they would not occupy them long, they preferred their bow wurley. The men when in camp would at times be busy making rugs with opossum skins. They would stretch them, peg them out on the ground ...[98]

27. Pinky Flat

Pinky Flat was part of the large living area north of the Torrens. During the Depression Indigenous people once again camped on Pinky Flat.[99]

28. Adelaide Oval

In response to a question 'Did Auntie Glad [Elder, Gladys Elphick] talk about the Torrens', Lewis O'Brien replied that she always talked about Adelaide Oval and Pinky Flat and that they were the camping places.

> She always said 'Adelaide Oval is Aboriginal Ground'- she always insisted about Adelaide Oval being a camp place.[100]

---

[95] *Ibid.*, 15 August 1843.

[96] *Ibid.*, 29 March 1844.

[97] 'Viator', *Register*, 8 December 1847, p. 3.

[98] *Ibid.*, no. 80.

[99] David Morris, Salvation Army historian, pers. comm. & Kaurna Elders Inc. meeting, 26/6/98.

[100] Lewis O'Brien, interview 25/5/98.

Lewis O'Brien states that Gladys Elphick was the only one in their group born in Adelaide, 'which gave her full authority over Adelaide, being closely related to Ivaritji ...Auntie Glad's grandmother was sister to Ivaritji'.[101]

Thomas Day, 1902, remembered a tree burial in a large gumtree in the Adelaide Oval area, which the police insisted be removed. This is an unusual reference for the Adelaide area and may refer to a burial by a visiting Indigenous group.

Indigenous people have staged 'corroborees' at Adelaide Oval, played cricket and football for local teams and also played in all Indigenous teams as early as last century. Adelaide Oval is a place where Indigenous people have, historically, been able to break down some of the racial barriers.

29. Montefiore Hill

We include two interesting images of Montefiore Hill, one is a painting by F.R. Nixon (Figure 26) and the other is a photograph of the Tent Embassy in 1972 (Figure 27). The staging of the Indigenous tent embassy coincided with a similar event in Canberra relating to Aboriginal Land Rights. Montifiore Hill commands a spectacular view of the body of the Dreaming ancestor which is the Mount Lofty Ranges.

30. Meeting Place - south bank of the Torrens east of the King William St Bridge

Groups of Indigenous people met in this area because of its proximity to the Protector's Office in Kintore Ave. It was also a general area for socialising on visits to the city. It was still used in the 1970s as a place for meetings.[102]

31. Parade Ground

This area is another place that could have a connection with *Tarnda Kanya* , the Red Kangaroo rock, described by Rob Amery. The Parade Ground was also an early European quarry. This area was probably also the site of the first Queen's birthday distribution of rations to the Indigneous people (see Figure 28).

32. Government House

---

[101] *Ibid.*

[102] *Ibid.*

A painting by Martha Berkely of the 'First dinner for the Aborigines' (Figure 28) shows the early involvement of Government House in the lives of the Indigenous people. The Kaurna people can be seen wearing their possum skin cloaks to the 'dinner'. On the right hand side of the group wait the three *burkas* , senior men of the Kaurna. This was the beginning of a system of Queen's Birthday ration distributions which was to some extent seen as an attempt at compensation.[103] These annual distributions brought Indigenous people from as far way as the Darling into Adelaide in the 1840s. These visiting groups lived in the Park Lands during their stays. In 1844 there is a record of 700 Indigenous people in town.

> The natives will be supplied with roast beef and bread this day, at two o'clock. They are to enter the western gate of the grounds of the Government Domain.[104]

33. Peace Park

This park has been used for a number of outdoor gatherings relating to reconciliation. In 1997 a major meeting of the Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation was held in Peace Park.

34. Protector's Office/Aborigines Department

Prior to the 1970s the lives of Indigenous people were controlled by the Government through the Aborigines Department. This part of the City has painful memories for many Indigenous people.[105]

35. Native School establishment 1845-1853

This school replaced both the Location School and one established in 1844 in Walkerville for children of the 'Murray Tribe'. The Native School Establishment was closed soon after the Queen's Birthday distributions late in 1852 when fifty children were removed to the newly established Poonindie Training Institute (opened in 1850 near Port Lincoln).[106] Tom

---

[103] Robert Foster, 'Feasts of the full-moon: the distribution of rations to Aborigines in South Australia, 1836-1861', *Aboriginal History* 13 (1), 1989, pp. 63-78.

[104] *South Australian*, 24 May 1844, p. 2.

[105] Veronica Brodie and Margaret Jacobs talking to Steve Hemming and Rhondda Harris, Oral History, Park Lands Project, 5/6/98.

[106] Tom Gara, Aboriginal Camp at Botanic Gardens, 1988, Unpublished manuscript, p. 2.

Gara argues that after 1847 only a few Kaurna children remained at the Native School establishment.

The location of the school can be seen on an enlargement of a faint plan (Figure 29).[107] Cawthorne also painted a view of the School (Figure 30). A well for the School was ordered to be dug near the Police Barracks and this is possibly one of the wells which still remain in, and near and the Museum.[108]

During 1845 six girls left the Native School Establishment in the company of an Indigenous boy sent by their parents. They made their way back to Mount Barker. Moorhouse sent a police constable after them:

> As this is the first decided stand that the adults have made in taking away the girls, it is very desirable to resist it.[109]

This account illustrates the mentality that led to the systematic removal of Indigneous children from their parents.

36. War Memorial

The War Memorial on the corner of North Terrace and Kintore Ave was another place where people met whilst waiting to visit the Aborigines Department. This memorial also reminds many Indigenous people of the lack of recognition given to their men who fought and died defending Australia in the various wars.[110]

37. Museum

The SA Museum houses the largest collection of Indigenous cultural heritage and human remains in the world. Some of this material is Kaurna - although it is only a small amount. The Museum has been a centre of research into Indigenous culture in South Australia and nationally. The work of Museum-based anthropologists has sometimes been used to construct oppressive Government policies.[111] The open spaces around the Museum have been used for a range of Indigenous events.

---

[107] State Records, GRG 24/6/1853/1769.

[108] State Records, GRG 52/7/1.

[109] State Records, GRG52/7/1, 15 October 1845.

[110] Doreen Kartinyeri, *Ngarrindjeri Anzacs*, SA Musuem, Adelaide.

[111] Some of the work of the museum anthropologist N.B. Tindale was used in the development of legislation that controlled the lives of Indigenous people.

38. *Wilto Yerlo*, University of Adelaide

The name *Wilto Yerlo* refers to the Sea Eagle, which was the totem of Kaurna Elder, Gladys Elphick.[112] Indigenous students are supported by *Wilto Yerlo* in their tertiary studies at the University of Adelaide.

39. First Indigenous College (Task Force)

The first Indigenous tertiary programme was established as part of the old Institute of Technology. The Task Force, as it was called, is now part of the University of South Australia's new Facility of Aboriginal and Islander Studies.

40. Photograph of Indigenous people outside the Exhibition building, 1880 (Fig. 31)

This photograph shows Indigenous people who had probably come to Adelaide to participate in 'corroborees' behind the old Exhibition Building on North Terrace. People from Point Mcleay and Point Pearce Missions came to Adelaide in the 1870s and 1880s to take part in the Adelaide Show and Royal Exhibitions. Indigenous people have handed down stories about these trips to Adelaide and of camping in the Botanical Gardens area during these visits.[113]

41. Photograph of group near the Botanic Gardens, 1870 - 1880.

This photograph (Figure 32) shows a typical Indigenous bag-wurley, camp. These wurleys were used at least to the 1950s in southern South Australia. This is one of the few photograph of Indigneous camps in the Park Lands area.

42. Sheoak

Cawthorne records the existence of a sheoak tree in the Park Lands that was probably linked to a Dreaming story. He also provides some interesting insights into Indigenous understandings of the land:

> It was devoutly believed that a certain man was transformed into a sheoak tree, the one that stood a little way above the old Frome Bridge. In fact, every island, cape and point are transformations of one kind or another.[114]

---

[112] *Ibid.*, no. 93.

[113] Doreen Kartinyeri, Neva Wilson and Lindsay Wilson pers. comm.

[114] W.A. Cawthorne,*The Advertiser*, 16 April 1864.

43. *Kainkawirra*

The Lake in the Botanic Gardens was referred to by Ivaritji as the waterhole belonging to her father, King Rodney, and therefore also connected with her.

> Did you know there was an Adelaide woman at Point Pierce? ... Her native name she told me was Iverita, and one of her waterholes was the spring or soak in your present Botanic Gardens.[115]

44. Palm House mound

Contamination in the Botanic Lake led to it being scraped out. The dirt from the lake became the mound which forms the base of the Palm House. This dirt would most likely have contained artefacts and other evidence of occupation.

45. Tomkinsons drawing, View of St Peters College (Fig. 33)

A group of Indigenous people in the Parklands. One is climbing a tree using toe-holds cut into the bark. Mr Chalk in his reminiscences writes:

> For many years every big gum tree around Adelaide bore the scars resulting from these pegs, possums which were very plentiful were the principal inducement leading the natives to climb.[116]

46. Human remains found during zoo construction

Human remains were found during the construction of the new deer park at the zoo.[117]

47. Human remains found at the Old Botanic Gardens, 1856.

> On Sunday morning, Mr George Francis of the Botanical Gardens, was surprised by his children bringing into the house a skull and one of the arm bones of a human being. On making enquiries, he ascertained that they were found on the south bank, opposite the Old Garden, about three feet beneath the surface ... exposed ... by falling in ... (off) the bank of the river.[118]

---

[115] Daisy Bates, letter dated 20 January 1916, in Tindale, N.B. 1935-1939 Adelaide Tribe Notes, S. A. Museum, AA 338/1/34, p. 60.

[116] Notes from Mr Chalk, p.167 in N.B. Tindale, Adelaide Tribe Notes, SA Museum.

[117] *The Advertiser*, 7 August 1914, p. 14.

[118] Best, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

48. Botanic Park

This area was undoubtedly used throughout the period of white 'settlement' as well as before, but Indigenous people concentrated in this area from the late 1840s through to the late nineteenth century.[119] The 1865 Duryea Panarama (Figure 34) shows that this part of the Park Lands still contained trees, unlike the Location area and in fact most of the Park Lands which were almost completely denuded of trees (Figure 17).

Von Geurard visited the Botanic Park area in 1855 and has left a number of sketches and paintings of Indigenous people and campsites (see Figures 35, 36, 37, 38). In a book of reminiscences relating to this period the children of the headmaster at St Peters college recall that:

> ...in May the Aborigines camped in the Parklands ... and held corroborees which were clearly visible and audible from the upper front windows of the school.[120]

Others have recorded Indigenous people living in this area in 'villages', usually for periods of months at a time. The 'settlers' record that they were nearly all from the 'Murray Tribes'. Referring to the 1850s, Lucy Hines recalled that:

> The zoo was at the back of the gardens and we walked out the back gate into virgin scrub and timber, a favourite camping ground for the Blacks.[121]

49. Hackney Bridge area, camps, corroborees 1850s -1880s.

In his Diary Edward Snell made many references to 'corroborees' near the Hackney bridge (then called the S.A. Company's Bridge).

> There was a display of fireworks at the government house in the evening and the blacks had a corrobory at the Companies mill.[122]

---

[119] Gara, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[120] A. Carrol & J.. Tregenza, *Eugene Von Geurard's South Australia.* Arts Board of S.A. in assoc. with The History Trust of S.A., 1986, pp. 52-53.

[121] *Register*, 15 December 1926.

[122] T. Griffiths (ed.) *The Life and Adventures of Edward Snell*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1988, 24 May 1850, p. 112.

> On the banks of the river near the Hackney Bridge is a stream flour mill, about a furlong north-west of which stands our residence, and on the bank of the river nearest us is a "black village" of 20 huts.[123]

50. St Peters College Cricket Match with Poonindie Team, 1872 (Fig. 39)

Indigenous men commonly played cricket in the nineteenth century. Indigenous teams often played local non-Indigenous teams or played against schools such as St Peter College.

51. Tennyson Bridge area - burial ground

There is considerable evidence that this area was a major burial ground for the period after invasion .[124] Gara has recorded considerable details of burials in this area. He concludes that it may have been the burial area for those camped in the Hackney Bridge / Botanic Park area in the nineteenth century and that 'corroborees' seen in the area may have in fact have been burials.[125]

52. Walkerville

Although Walkerville is just outside the Park Lands we have included some general reference to the area due to the strong connections historically between the Indigenous use of the Park Lands and the Walkerville area. Klose writes the following about the Queen's Birthday distribution in 1845:

> 384 natives were gathered ... mainly locals with only a few from the Murray ... Between 40 and 50 stayed on the Location; the rest camped at Walkerville.[126]

An 1846 Police report refers to a large number of Indigenous people gathering in 'Mr Bernard's garden in Walkerville and refusing to move'.[127]

---

[123] *Ibid.*, p3.

[124] Gara *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[125] *Ibid.*

[126] Klose letters, 1841-1845, Lutheran Archives.

[127] State Records, GRG 24/6/1846/318.

53. Walkerville Native School

Established in 1844 to take Murray children not welcome at the Location, the school only lasted a year before both schools were combined in the Native School Establishment. The Walkerville school was on John Morphett's Section, No. 478, an area north of the river between Landsdowne Terrace and Ascot Avenue, partly taking in the current Levi Caravan Park.

54. Police Commissioner's plan for identifying 'tags'.

This triangular section of the North Parklands, south of Lot 460 was the area proposed in 1846 as an Aboriginal Reserve. The idea was to 'clean up the city streets' of Indigenous people by identifying the Adelaide people as well as parents of children at the School. This was to be done with a number, either on a metal tag or, if the people could be persuaded, with a tattoo. All Indigenous people found without a number were to be sent back to the country and those with a tag were expected to stay within the reserve.[128]

55. School children cutting wood for use at the school.

The Park Lands were almost denuded of trees by the Europeans in the first 20 years of 'settlement'. Scarcity of wood for Indigenous people was a major source of hardship and led to conflict with the Europeans. On 24th April 1845 Moorhouse asked the Colonial office for a cart ...

> and a team of bullocks to be supplied 2 or 3 days ... (to remove firewood from the Parkland in North Adelaide to Walkerville School) ... The wood has been cut down by the School Children but the distance is too great for them to carry it.[129]

This is probably in this section of Park Lands suggested as a reserve by the Police Commissioner (see above).

56. Sussex Street

---

[128] State records, GRG 24/6 /1846/342, CSO letters received, letter from Commissioner of Police, 23 March 1846.

[129] State Records, GRG 52/7/1 Protector of Aborigines Letter Book 1840-57.

The Aboriginal Women's Hostel in Sussex St was provided for Indigenous women when they were visiting Adelaide. Most women preferred to stay with relatives but the Aborigines Department controlled where people could stay.[130]

57. Low-lying swamp area

We have come across no records of Aboriginal people in this area. There are records however of massive flooding and of the building up of a land bridge to form what is now the Botanic Garden section of North Terrace.[131] This area would have been a swamp leading into the waterhole in the Botanic Gardens. It would have provided a wealth of foods and other resources for the Indigenous people of the area.

58. Meeting place 19th century

Margaret (Connie) Roberts identified this area as having been a meeting and camping place. Margaret Roberts talks about Tommy Walker camping in this area. She described the forced movement of the people from this area to the Botanic Gardens area and then to Glenelg.[132]

59. Native police troopers overlooking those meeting in the east Parklands

Margaret Roberts also identified this area as the place where native police camped to watch the activities of the Indigenous people in the East Parklands.

60. Hostel - Cyril Lindsay House

The Aboriginal Sobriety Group runs Cyril Lindsay House on South Terrace. People from this hostel often use the Park Lands directly opposite as a pleasant place to sit during the day. In about 1956 Laura Agius, an Indigenous resident of the West End of Adelaide, made a public plea for hostels to be established for Indigenous people when they visited Adelaide. At that time most stayed in the small houses of other Indigenous people living in Adelaide at the time.[133]

61. South Parklands

---

[130] Sussex St was discussed in oral history interviews with Veronica Brodie and Neva Wilson.

[131] J.W. Warburton (ed.), *Five Metropolitan Creeks of the River Torrens, South Australia.* An Environmental and Historical Study. Dept of Adult Education, University of Adelaide, 1977, p. 7.

[132] Garth Agius interview with Margaret (Connie) Roberts, June 1998.

[133] Garth Agius pers. comm., July 1998.

Only general references to the early use of the South Parklands are available, although there are quite a few references to Indigenous people camping in the Unley area.[134] The early 'settler' Mr Chalk made the following comment in his reminiscences:

> During the well known battle in the south parklands the Adelaide people used no shields or throwing sticks but just dodged and ducked to avoid their opponents missiles. The natives who came up from Goolwa carried womeras.[135]

The Lutheran Missionary Schurmann is probably referring to the South Parklands as the place south of the town where the Aboriginal people camped following a death at the Location).[136] Two months later they were still away from the Location.

> Not a single native has come back to Piltawodlinga. A few are on the opposite side of town.[137]

Veronica Brodie also knows of the South Park Lands as a camping place in the old days. Her mother was born in a camp in Glenelg, where Magic Mountain now stands and Veronica remembers her talking about people camping in the South Park Lands sometimes on the way through to Glenelg.[138]

62. West Terrace Cemetery

There are many Indigenous people buried in the West Terrace Cemetery. This place also has a history of grave robbing already mentioned in this report.

63 Behind West Terrace cemetery

Areas such as this have continued to be places where Indigenous people have camped.

64. West Parkland artefact

The Museum has a record of one Aboriginal artefact, a stone flake found somewhere in the West Parkland.[139] This illustrates the lack of archaeological research carried out in the Park Lands area.

---

[134] See Unley Museum archives.

[135] Tindale, N.B. Adelaide Tribe Note, Notes from Mr Chalk 7/11/26, AA338/1/34 p168, S.A.M.

[136] Schurmann Diary, 5 August 1839.

[137] Schurmann Diary, 2 October 1839.

[138] Veronica Brodie and Marharet Jacobs talking to S. Hemming and Rhondda Harris, Oral History, Park Lands Project, 5/6/98.

[139] S.A.Museum Records, Unit 14, Shelf 8, Lot 2934, Netley Store.

65. 1844 intertribal fight, police smashed weapons.

In 1844 Moorhouse, the Protector of Aborigines, reported that:

> On the 22nd of April, there was an attempt to repeat the annual contest between the Encounter Bay Tribe and Murray Tribes. From three to four hundred natives were assembled near Emigration Square armed with weapons for attack, but the prompt interference of the Police Force effectually prevented it.[140]

Schurmann wrote about the same incident ...

> ...as they were marching to meet each other on the old Bay road, three horse police very unceremoniously stopped them. [141]

The corner of Emigration Square can just be seen in the left hand bottom corner of Freeling's 1849 map (Figure 15). The dotted path on this map, on the east side of the city, appears to be the 'Bay Road' referred to by Schurmann.

66. Behind the Observatory (site now Adelaide High School), 1890s and 1900s.

At this time the Government was instructing all country places and missions to keep Indigenous people away from the city. Indigenous people still visited the City and camped in the Park Lands during this period. Charles Knuckey who was born in 1888 remembers Indigenous people in the 1890s and 1900s camping behind the Observatory on West Terrace.

> Some thirty to fifty Aboriginals from the north of South Australia would camp under the trees at the back of the property during the summer months.[142]

67. Light Square

Light Square has a long history of use by Indigenous people. A non-Indigenous person living in the West End as a child in the 1900s remembered that:

> ... in those days the aboriginals were in the West Parklands and they used to go up and down ... with their little Pikanninies on their backs up to Light Square ... settle there for the day and then in the evening

---

[140] State Records, GRG 24/6A/1844/712.

[141] Schurmann letters, 22nd April, 1844, p. 46.

> they used to go back - they lived out in the open - in the Parklands. ... they never interfered with anybody - they just went up and down (between the Observatory and Light Square)... on their own way you know.[143]

Light Square was again a meeting place when Indigenous people lived in the West End from the early 1930s to the early 1960s. According to all the Indigenous people we spoke to the houses in this area were always full of relatives visiting and everyone would meet in Light Square. The anthropologists, Ronald and Catherine Berndt recorded that:

> On fine weekends or on holidays, 'aboriginals' and white residents of the West End gather in the city squares at their end of town ... but the usual tendency is for them to stay in separate groups. Plain clothes policemen keep an eye on them to see that no liquor is passed and that there is no soliciting. And while the elders sit on the benches and gossip or furtively gamble at cards, the children play about the lawns.[144]

68. West End / Waymouth Street area

Many Indigenous families lived in this part of the City from about the 1930s to the 1960s.[145] An Indigenous oral history project dealing with the history of this area needs to be undertaken.

69. Playground, West Terrace

This area was used by Indigenous children living in the West End of Adelaide during the period from the 1930s to the 1950s. This area was also used as an overnight camping area by Indigenous people when there was not enough space in the house in the West End area.[146] This is a contemporary meeting area for some Indigenous people.

70. Whitmore Square

---

[142] Charles Knuckey, Oral History Collection, State Library of South Australia.

[143] Emily Smith, Oral History Collection, State Library of South Australia.

[144] Ronald & Catherine Berndt, *From Black to White in South Australia*, Melbourne, 1951, p. 257.

[145] During oral history interviews Neva Wilson, Veronica Brodie, Georgina Williams, Madeline Wilson, Alma Ridgeway and Lewis O'Brien all talked about their experiences growing up in this part of the City.

[146] Neva Wilson talking to Steve Hemming and Rhondda Harris, Oral History, Park Lands Project, 11/6/98.

This was another Square frequented in the 1930s and 1940s but was not as popular as Light Square. This area is currently used by homeless people and community services organisations are based in this area.

71. Sturt Street School

Many Indigenous people have attended this school and it has a long association with the Indigenous people living in the West End of the City.

72. Hurtle Square

This area has been used as a meeting area for Indigenous people, but is less significant than Victoria Square, Light Square and Whitmore Square.

73. Victoria Square

The Tarndanya clan of the Kaurna people had their 'headquarters ... where the City of Adelaide now stands, with their central camp near or in Victoria Square.[147] This Square is still an important meeting area for Indigenous people, a focus of political and community-based Indigenous events and the area where the Aboriginal Flag was first flown in 1971.

74. Ngamatyi (GPO)

This was the name given by Ivaritji for the site where the Post Office is located, on the edge of Victoria Square.[148]

75. Victoria Park Racecourse

Indigenous people attended race meetings from an early time. There is a mention in the Protector's Quarterly Report in 1854 that:

> During the period, five families visited Adelaide to be present at the races in May; they remained five days and then returned to their districts.[149]

A cricket match was also held at the Race Course in 1872 between the Poonindie eleven and the S.A. Association.[150] In the early 1980s senior Anangu people camped on Victoria Park whilst in Adelaide to negotiate for their Land Rights.

---

[147] *Advertiser*, 8 December 1927.

[148] Amery 1997, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[149] State Records, GRG 24/6/1854/2433.

[150] E. Kwan, *Living in South Australia: A Social History*, Vol. 1 From 1836 to 1914, p 85.

76. Tandanya

Tandanya is the name given to the Aboriginal Cultural Institute on Grenfell St, near the East Park Lands. This cultural centre/art gallery was opened in 1989. It was named after the Kaurna word for the Adelaide City area (*tarnda* - the Red Kangaroo). Senior Kaurna descendants were invited to be special guests at the opening ceremony. Many Indigenous people learned of their Kaurna connections through this event.

77. Aboriginal Community Centre

In 1972 the Aboriginal Community Centre was opened in Wakefield Street. It provided support and advice to Indigenous people. The Aboriginal Legal Rights Movement opened an office in the centre, the Aboriginal Sobriety Group was based there, and health services were also provided to the Indigneous community.

78. Trinity Church

A watercolour by William Cawthorne in 1846 which is titled 'Native girls going to Trinity Church' (Figure 40) suggests at least some connection between Indigenous people and this church. They are probably walking from the Native School Establishment in Kintore Avenue. An interesting observation about Trinity Church comes Thomas Day:

> On Sunday they would have a corobery on the north side of Torrens. The police would have to stop them. It would interrupt the service at Trinity Church. Their answer was White fellow corobery at church.[151]

This observation provides an interesting insight into the relationship between the life of the Indigenous people living in the Park Lands and the 'settlers' in their growing City on the other side of the River.

79. Yungondi Building, University of S.A.

Yungondi is a Kaurna word for communication. It was used to name the new Administration Building in the University of SA's new City West Campus. This Campus looks across to the area of the old Native Location.

---

[151] T. Day *op. cit.*

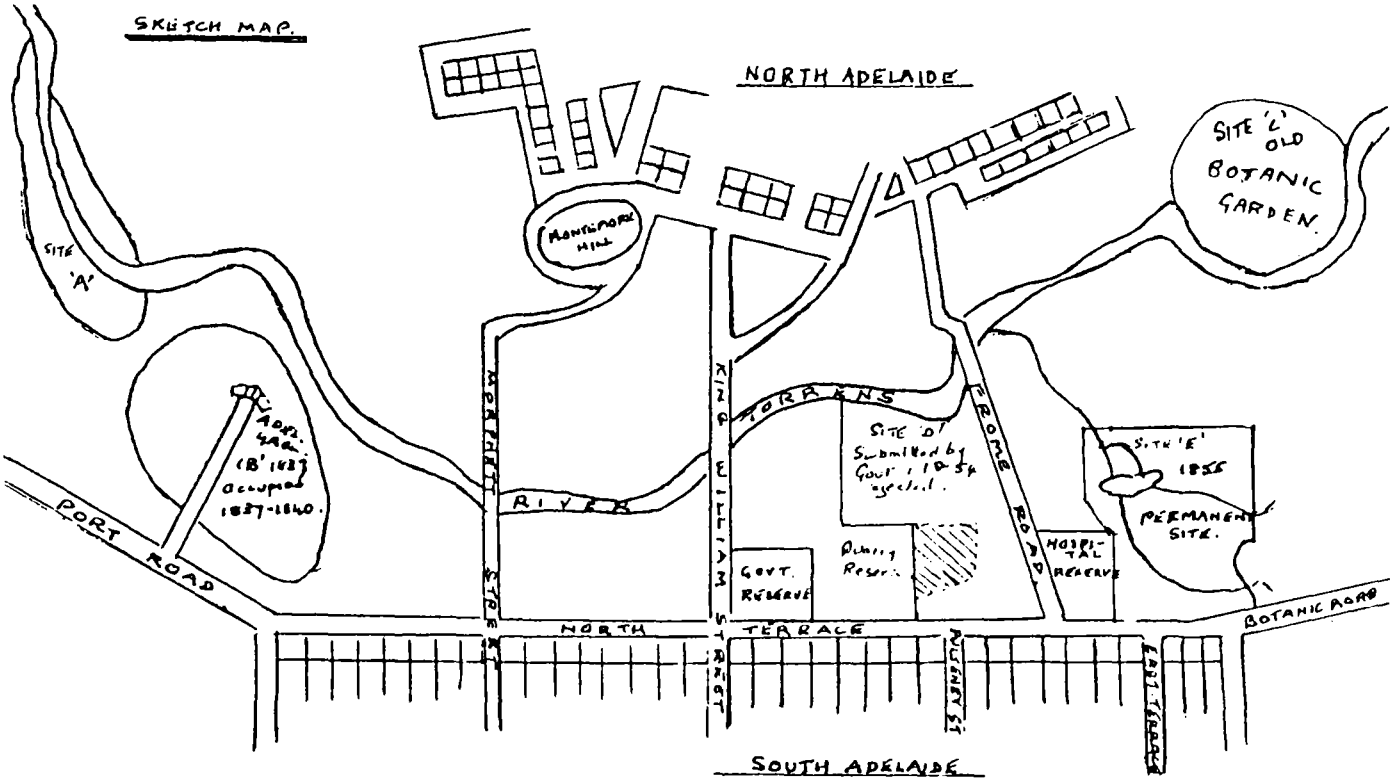


Fig. 13. Botanic Gardens: Sites A-E, from Best, B. 1986 *George William Francis. First Director of the Adelaide Botanic Garden.* Privately published by the author in conjunction with Botanic Gardens of Adelaide.

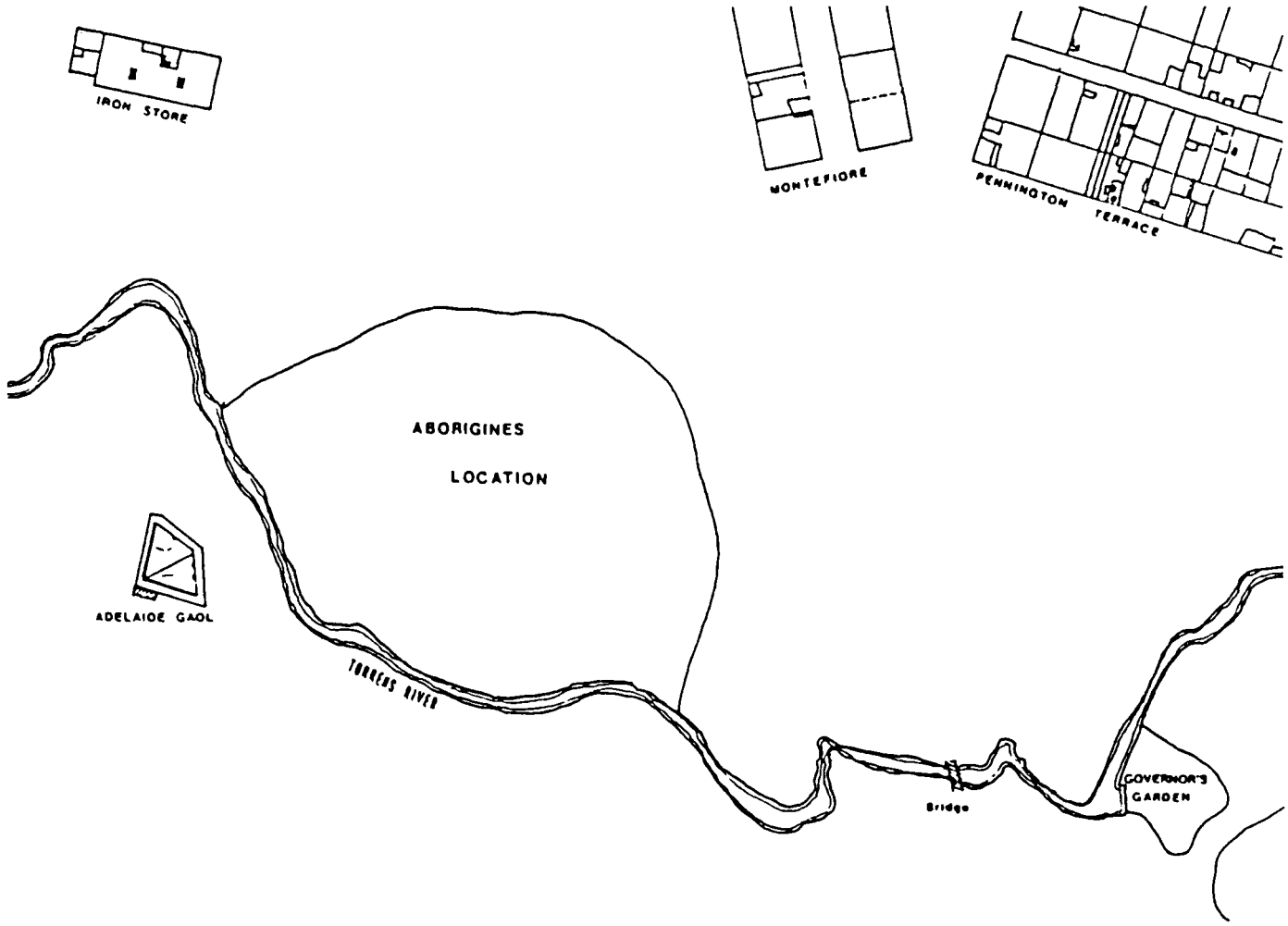


Fig. 14. Section of Kingston's 1842 Map of Adelaide, from Foster, R 1990 The Aborigines Location in Adelaide: South Australia's first 'mission' to the Aborigines in *Aboriginal Adelaide, Journal Of The Anthropological Society Of South Australia, Special Issue,* Volume 28 numbers 1&2 December 1990:15).

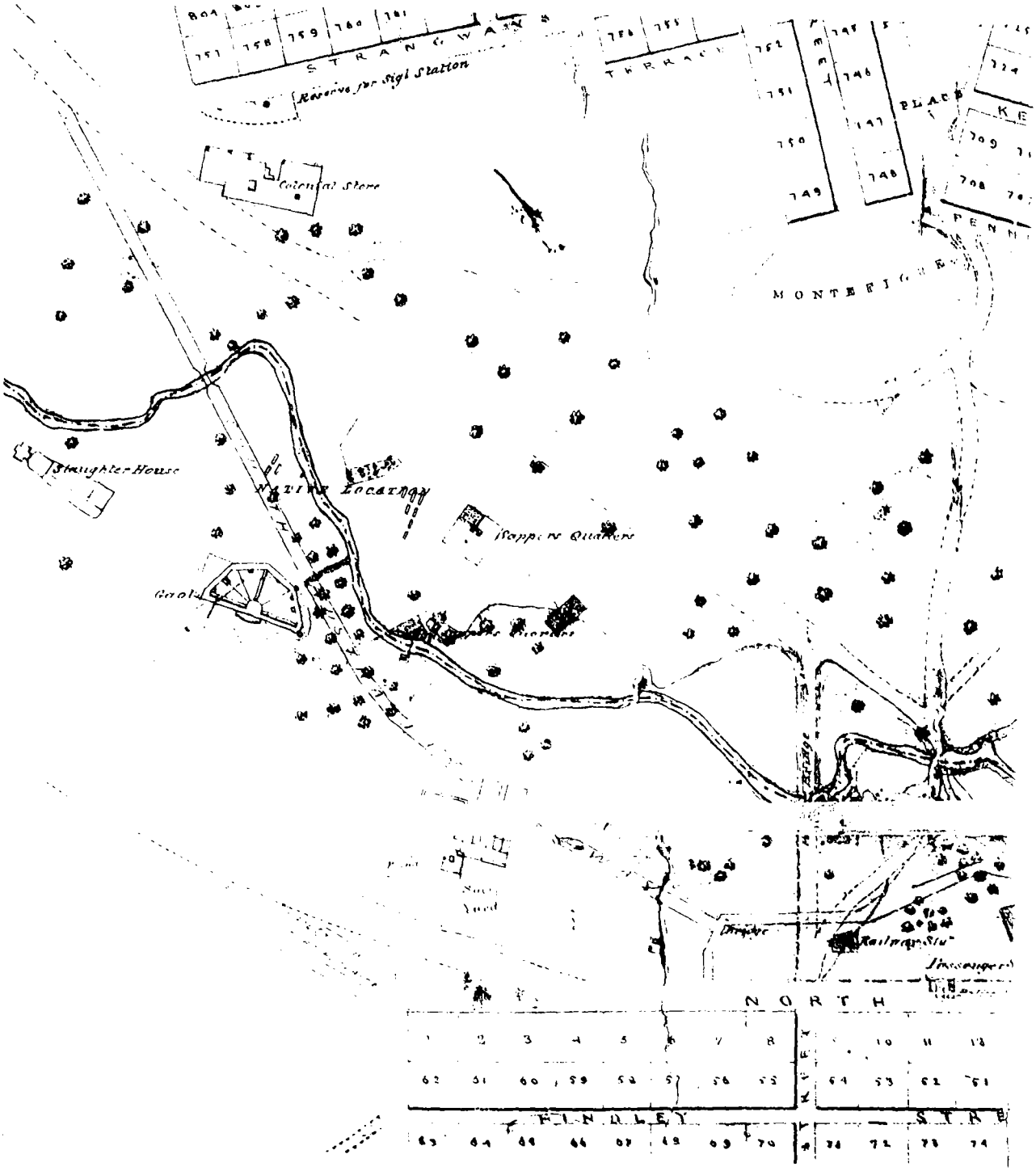


Fig. 15. Section of Freeling's 1849 Map of Adelaide, Lands Dept, S.A.

Fig. 16. Adelaide Golf Course, Location Area

Aerial photograph by Dept for Environment, Heritage and Aboriginal Affairs, Survey 5454, Photo 451, 10/2/98. The first overlay is based on Freeling's 1849 map. The second overlay is a rough indication only, of some of the surface evidence in the area. Dots indicate building remains and crosses indicate rubbish dump areas (Harris, 1998).

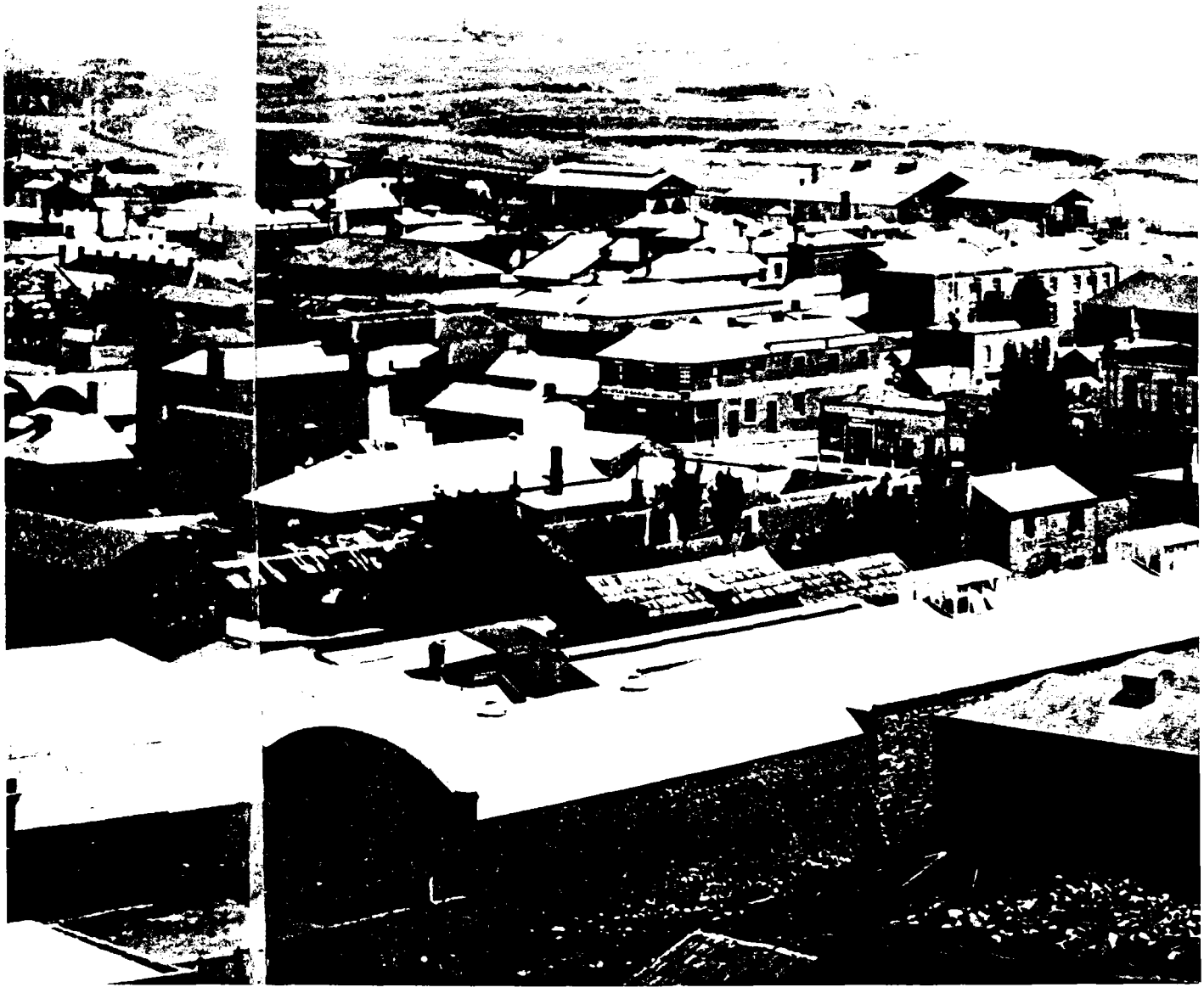


Fig. 17. Townsend Duryea, Panorama of Adelaide, 1865, showing site of the Adelaide Location. Frames 12 & 13, Courtesy SSLM, B5099.

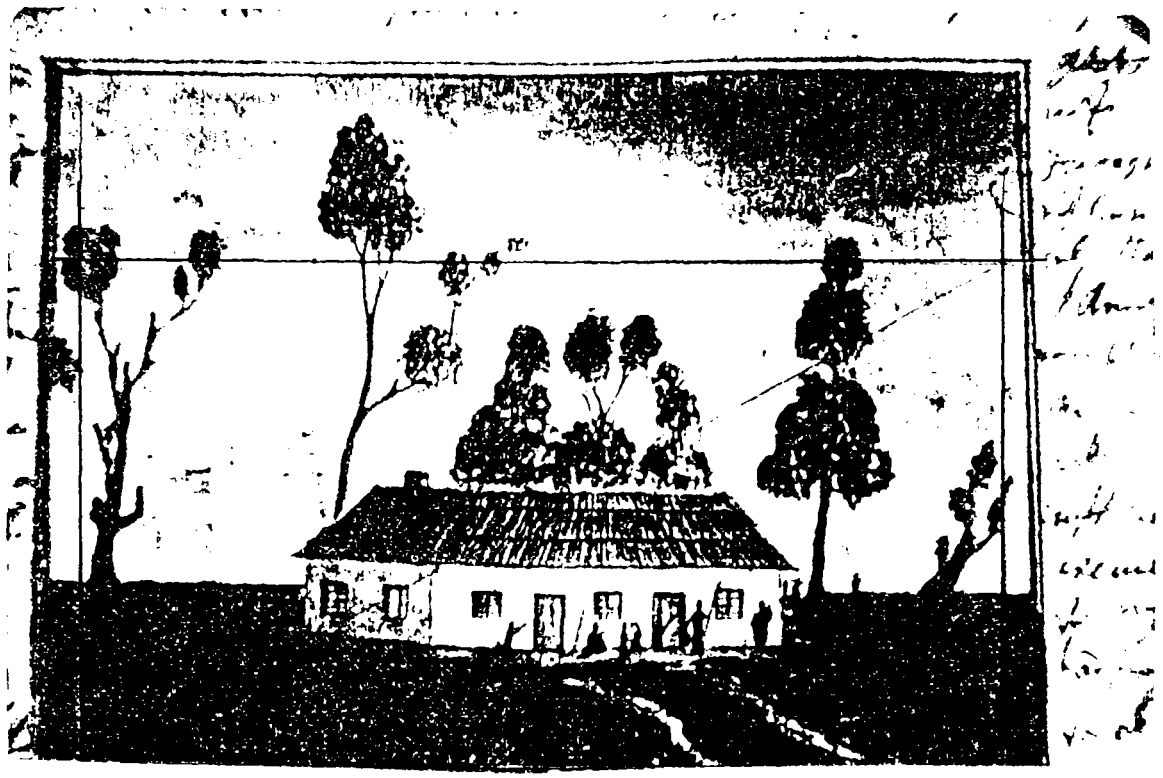


Fig. 18. Location School Sketch by William Cawthorne. Literarium diarum, 22 Oct 1842- Dec 1843 CY Reel 214 No. 868.

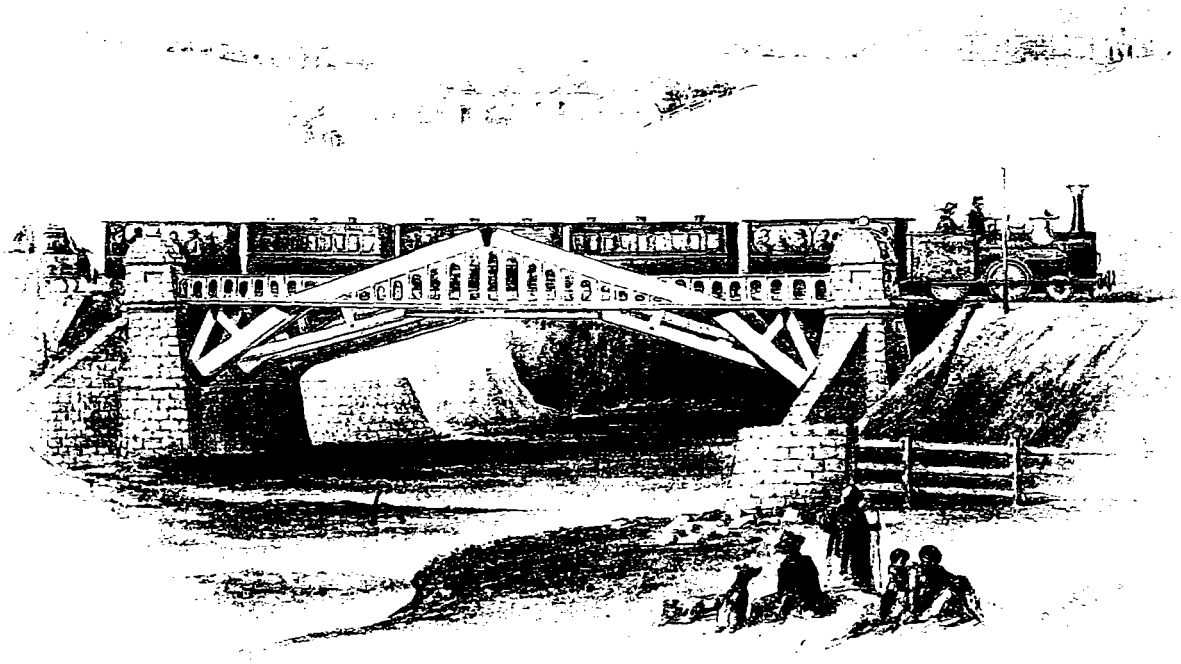


Fig. 19. 'First Railway Bridge' Glover, 1856. from Marsden, S., Stark, P. & Sumerling, P. 1990 *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*. City of Adelaide.

Fig. 20. Early settlement in Adelaide: sketch by Samual Calvert. c.1856. Courtesy SSLM, B1134.

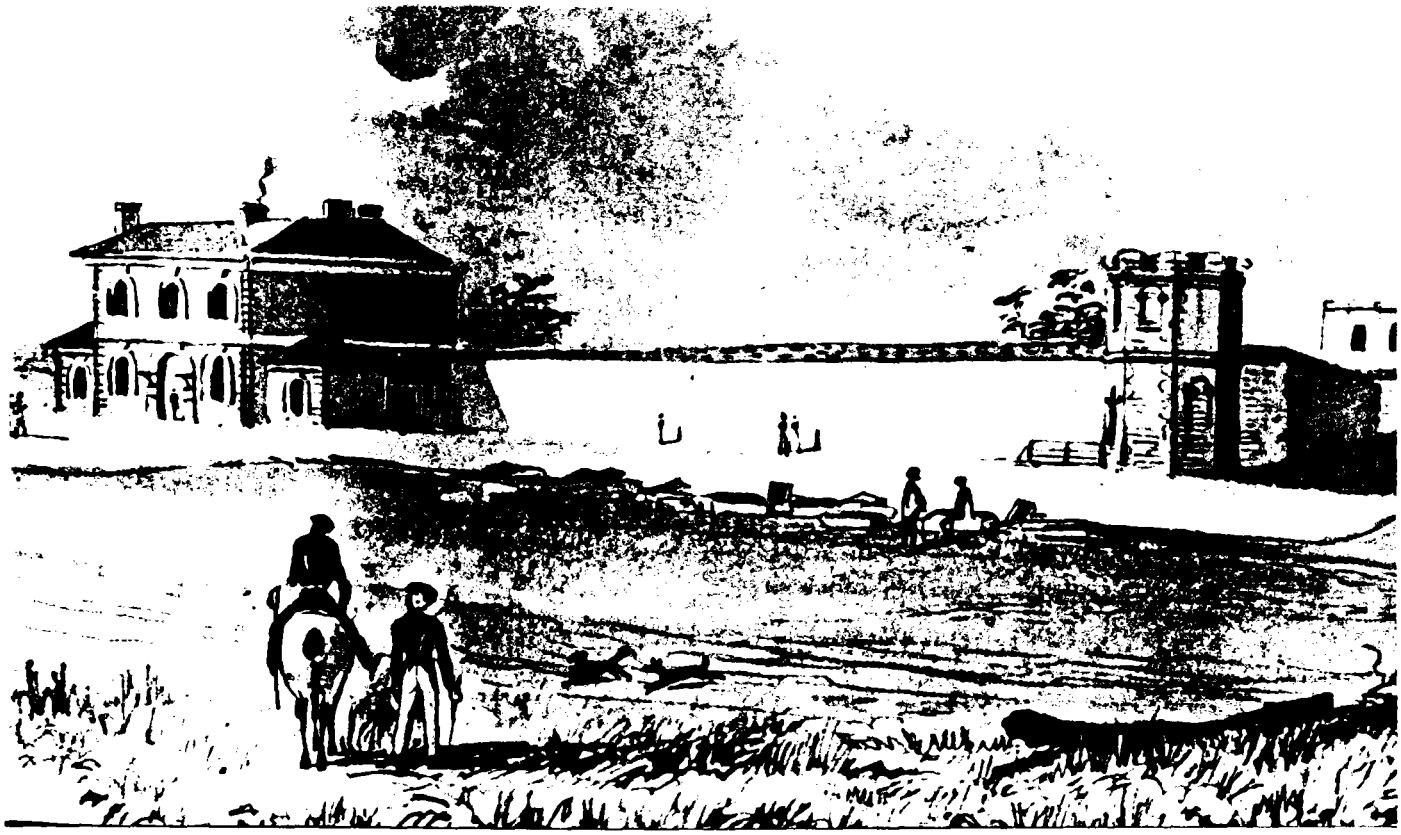


Fig. 21. 'Adelaide Gaol', S. T. Gill. (National Library of Australia) c. 1837.
from Colwell, M. and Naylor, A. 1974 *Adelaide An Illustrated History* Lansdowne Press, Melbourne: 41.

Fig. 23. Robert DAVENPORT Australia 1816 - 1896, ***Adelaide from the north bank of the river Torrens.*** watercolour, 15.8 x 26.3cm, Art Gallery of south Australia, Adelaide, Gift of H Davenport 1927.

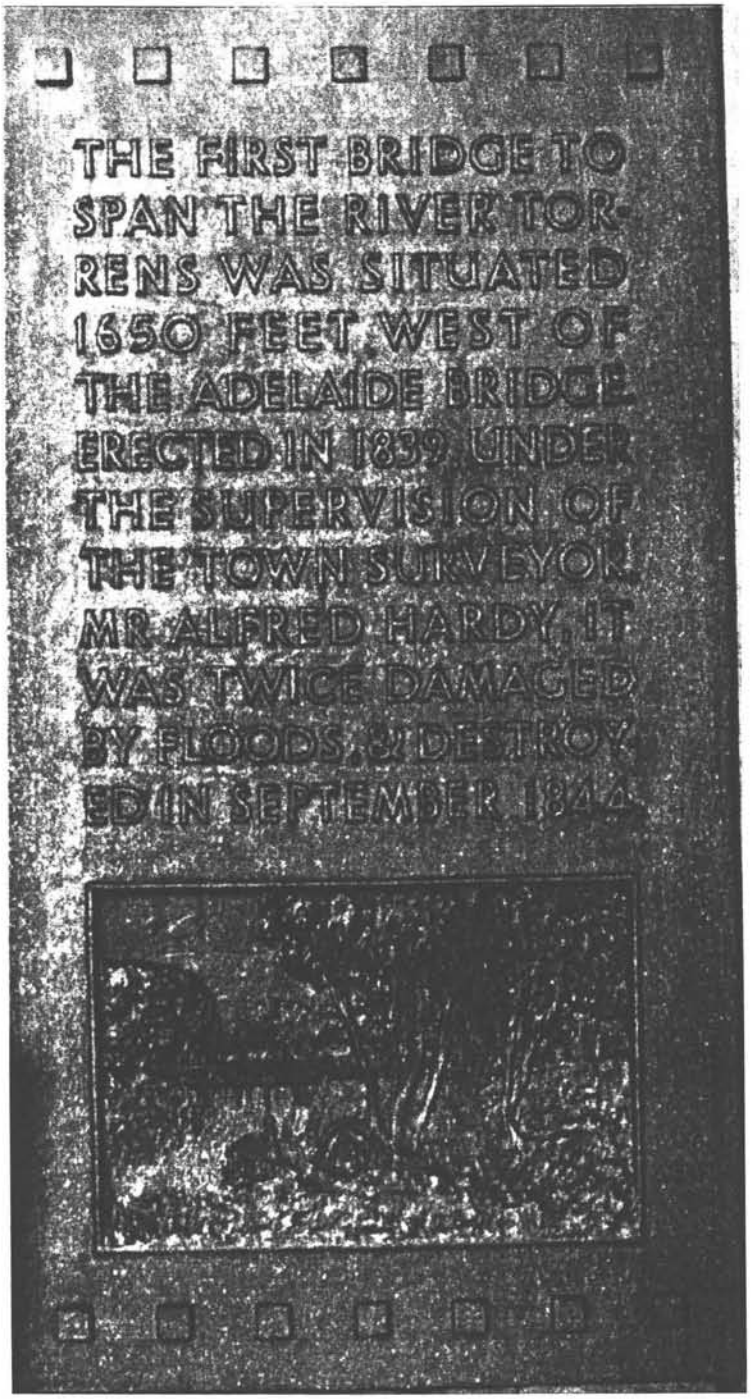


Fig. 24. Aboriginal scene on North Bank of Torrens River, Plaque on Adelaide Bridge. photograph from Wilson, D 1995 The Making of the River Torrens: a study of the forces working on a planned cultural landscape of the 19th and 20th centuries, Honours Archaeology

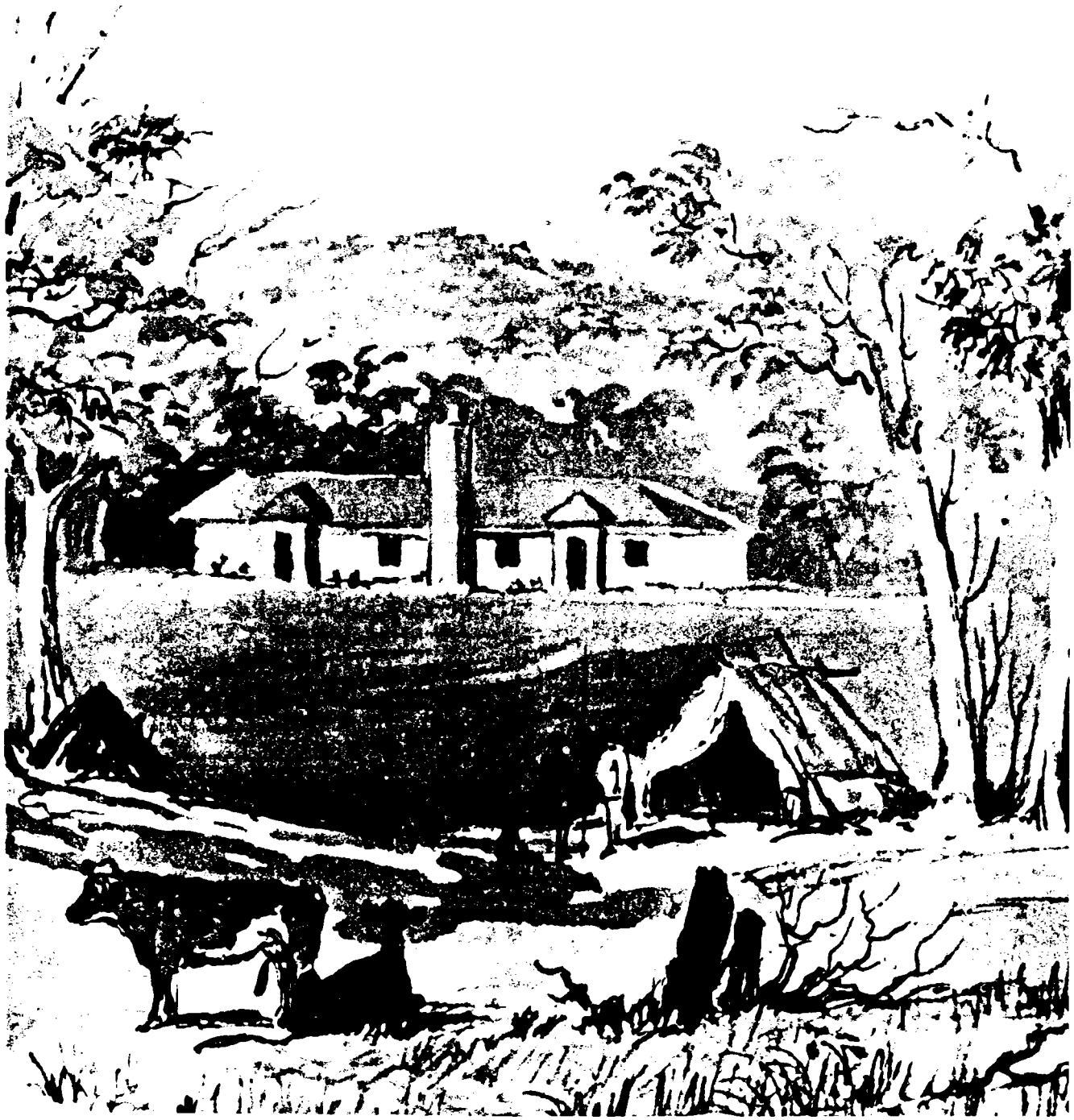


Fig. 25. Old Government House, S.T.Gill (National Library of Australia) c. 1837. from Colwell, M. and Naylor, A. 1974 *Adelaide An Illustrated History* Lansdowne Press, Melbourne: 23.

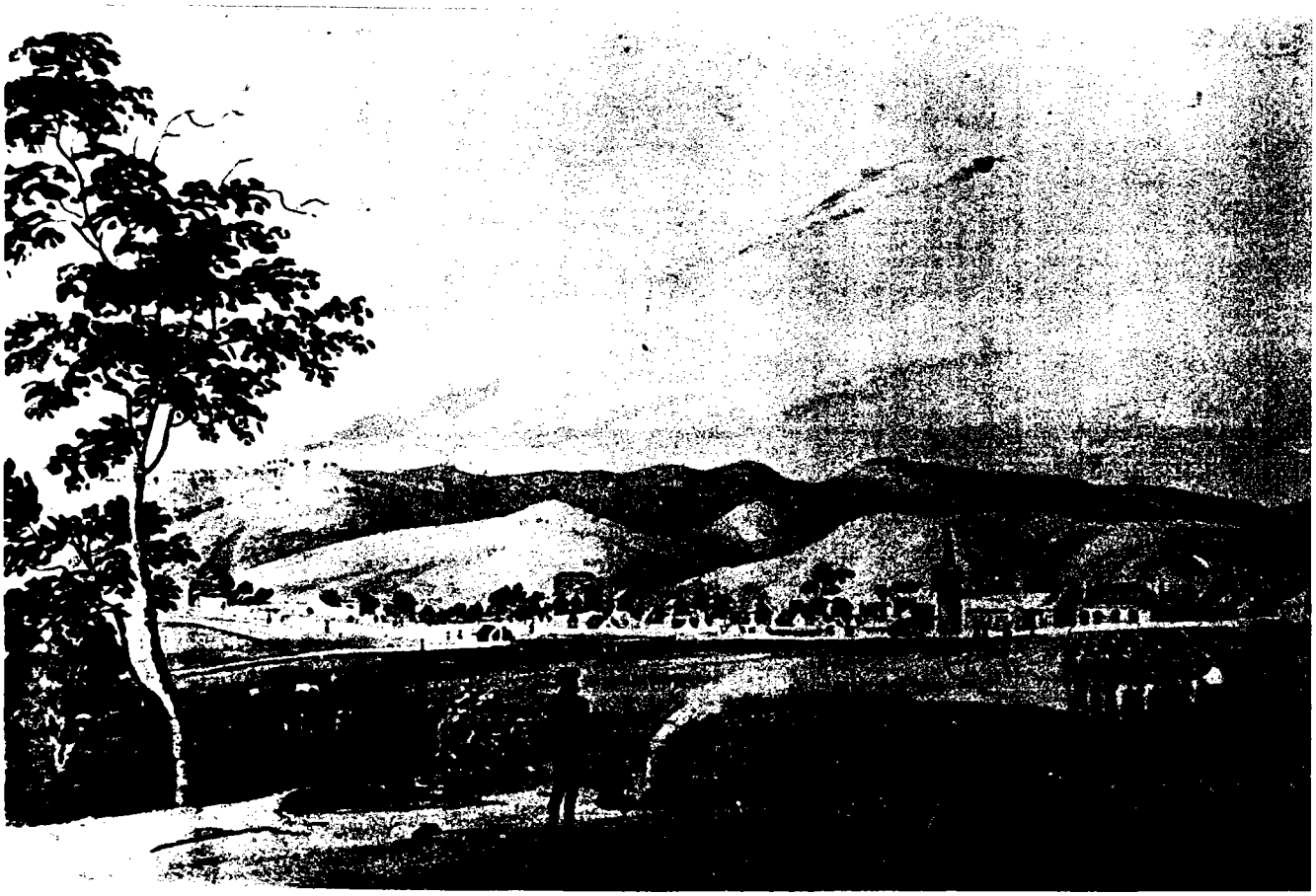


Fig. 26. Looking towards North Terrace from Montefiore Hill 1845, F. R. Nixon
(original in Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library) Courtesy SSLM, 16070.

Fig. 27. Tent Embassy, North Adelaide 1972 News October 1972, Photograph Courtesy, State History Trust. PPI 3128.

Fig. 28. Martha BERKELEY, Australia 1813-1899 ***The first dinner given to the Aborigines*** 1838 Adelaide, watercolour on paper, 37.5 x 49.5cm, Art Gallery of south Australia, Adelaide, Gift of J.P. Tonkin 1922.

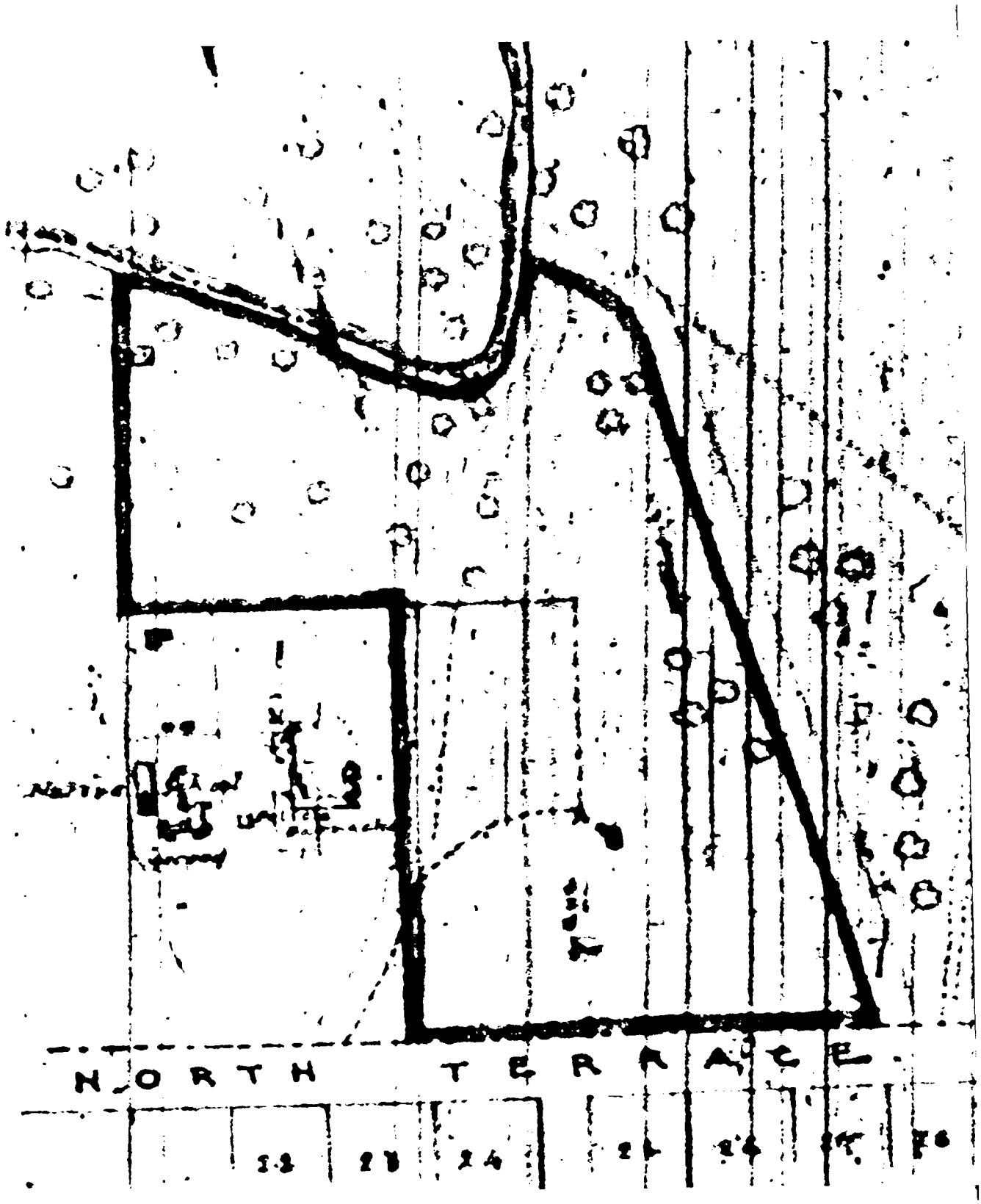


Fig. 29. Plan of Native School Establishment. GRG24/6/1853/1769

Fig. 30. 'Aboriginal location, new one, west view', about 1846: wash drawing by S.T. Gill. (Rex Nam Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia).
from p34, Kwan, E. 1987 *Living in South Australia: A Social History. Vol 1 From Before 1836 To 1914.* S.A. Government Printer, Netley.

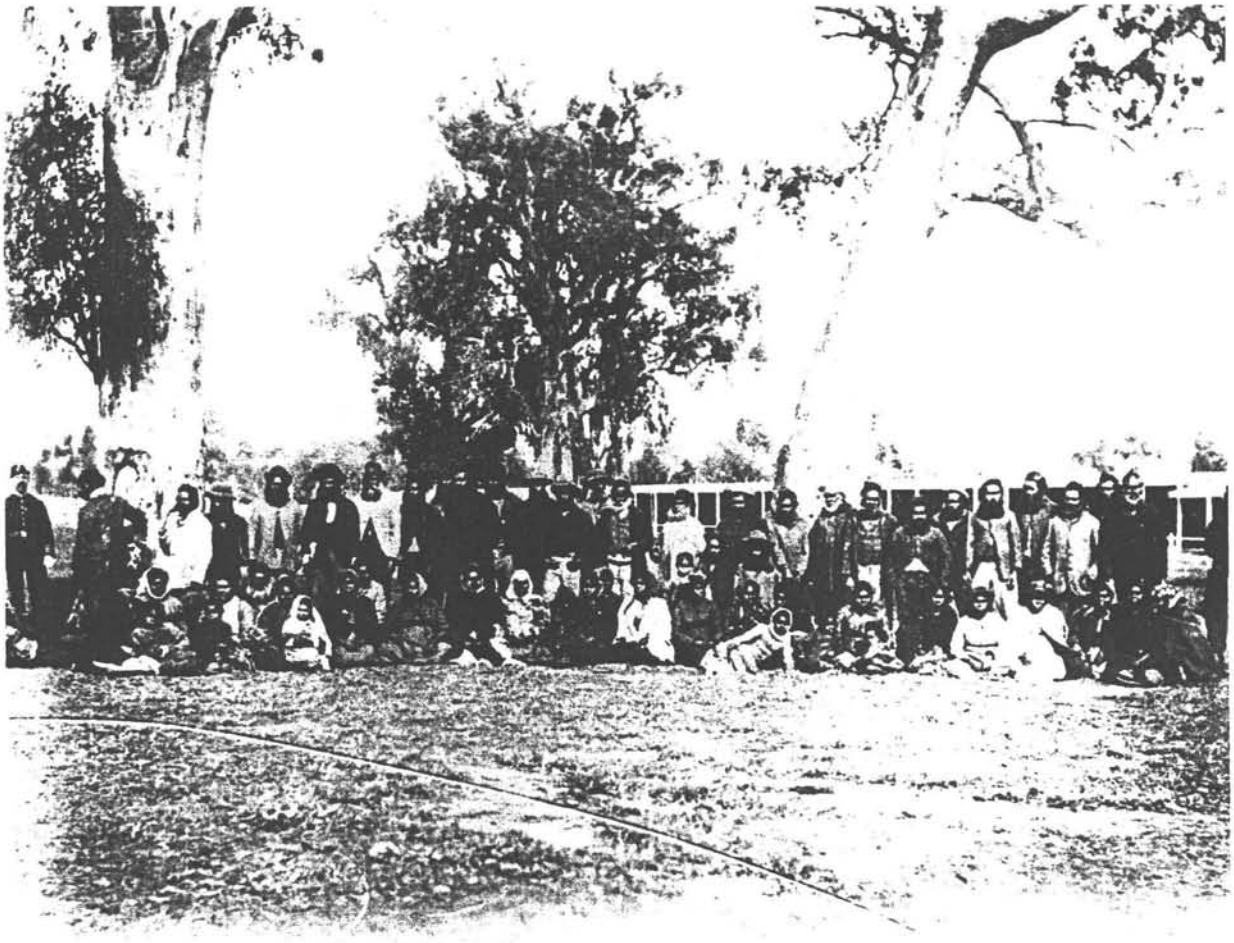


Fig. 31. Aboriginal People in a large group outside the Exhibition Building, Frome Road. (Courtesy SSLM, B24437)

Fig. 32. Banks of Torrens near Botanic Garden. Courtesy of the SA Museum, N.B.Tindale Collection.

Fig. 33. 'St Peters College etc' From a chalk drawing by L. Tomkinson, dated May 2 1856. (original in Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library) Courtesy SSLM. B16072.

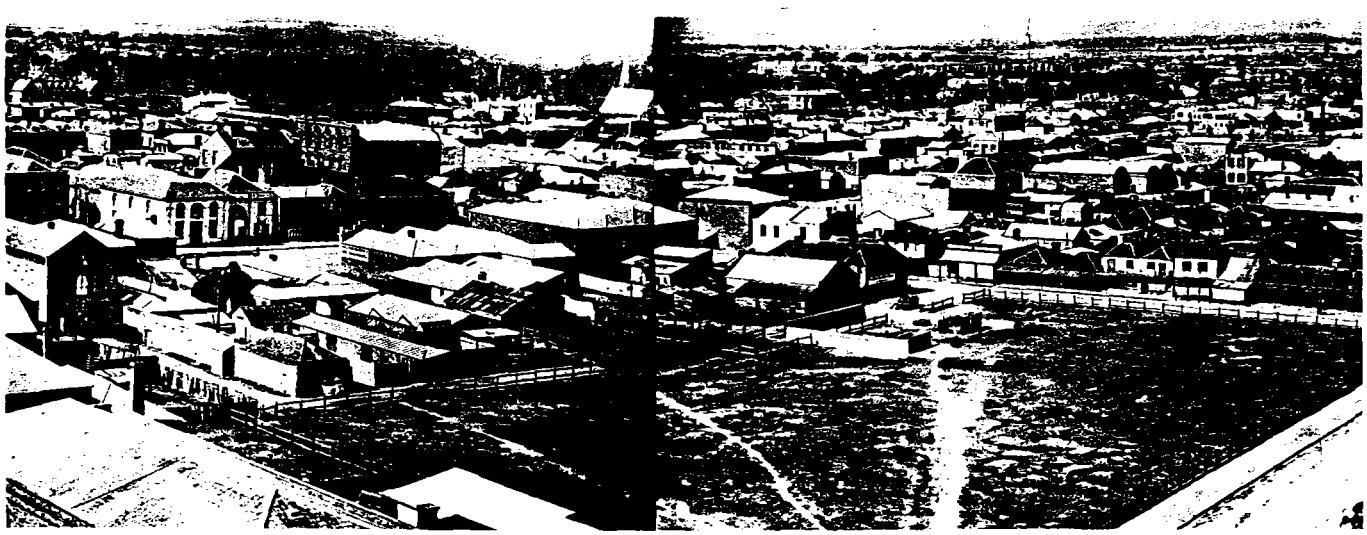


Fig. 34. Townsend Duryea, Panorama of Adelaide, 1865, showing Botanic Park / Hackney Bridge area. Frames 2 & 3, Courtesy SSLM, B5099.

Fig. 35. Torrens River, Adelaide near recent extensions to Adelaide Zoo, Eugene Von Geurard, 21st July, 1855. Mitchell Library, in Carroll, A. and Tregenza, J. 1986 *Eugene Von Geurard's South Australia.* Arts Gallery Board of S.A. in assoc. with the History Trust of S.A: 80

Fig. 36. Winter encampment in wurleys of divisions of the tribes from Lake Bonney and Lake Victoria in the Parklands near Adelaide, Eugene Von Geurard 25th July, 1855. National Gallery, Victoria, in Carroll, A. and Tregenza, J. 1986 *Eugene Von Geurard's South Australia.* Arts Gallery Board of S.A. in assoc. with the History Trust of S.A. p.53

Fig. 37. 'The Beauty of the Tribe'. Carlolin. 16 years old, Adelaide. Eugene Von Geurard 31st July, 1855. Mitchell Library, in Carroll, A. and Tregenza, J. 1986 *Eugene Von Geurard's South Australia.* Arts Gallery Board of S.A. in assoc. with the History Trust of S.A: 8

Fig. 38. Jimmy and Mary, Lake Victoria / Murray Tribe, Adelaide, Mittwok. Eugene Von Geurard 11th July, 1855. Mitchell Library, in Carroll, A. and Tregenza, J. 1986 *Eugene Von Geurard's South Australia.* Arts Gallery Board of S.A. in assoc. with the History Trust of S.A. p.55

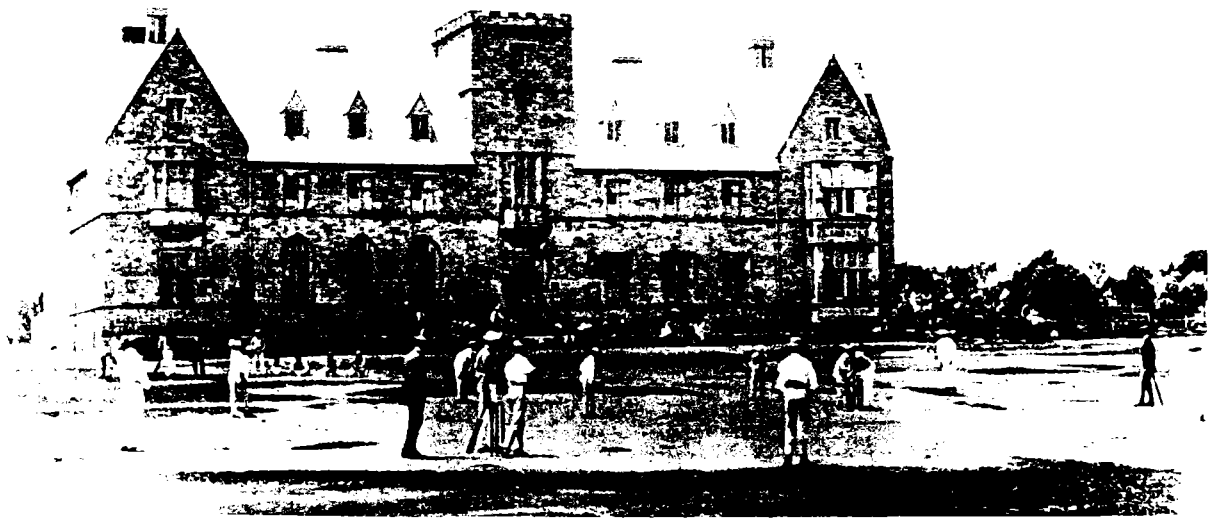


Fig. 39. The Poonindie team batting in a cricket match at St Peters College in 1874. (SSLM, B1950) in Kwan, E. 1987 *Living in South Australia: A Social History. Vol 1 From Before 1836 To 1914*. S.A. Government Printer, Netley;39.

Fig. 40. 'Native girls going to Trinity Church', 1846 by William Cawthorne
watercolour (Mitchell Library of N.S.W.)
from Kwan, E. 1987 *Living in South Australia: A Social History. Vol 1 From Before 1836 To 1914.* S.A. Government Printer, Netley, p. 35.

6. Sources

6.1 Resource collections

The following resource collections have been used in the development of this report:

State Government Records
Adelaide City Archives
Lutheran Archives
Mortlock Library
Unley Museum Research Notes
Lands Dept of S. A.
South Australian Museum, Tindale material and archaeological and ethnographic data
History Trust of South Australia
Art Gallery
DOSAA archaeological reports

Records investigated but unable to access during this project:
Wyatt Benevolent Association
Church of England Archives

6.2 Bibliography[152]

Abbie, A. A. 1958, 'The Aborigines of South Australia' in *Introducing South Australia*, R. J. Best (ed), ANZAAS, Adelaide.

Aboriginal Studies Teaching Resource Unit 1985, *The Kaurna Trail Excursion. Teachers' Handbook*, Aboriginal Community College, Port Adelaide.

Adams, J. W. 1902, My early days in the colony, E. J. Walker, Balaklava. (Reprinted in *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 1988, 25(6): 3-11).

Adelaide City Council 1925, 'Adelaide nomenclature, Aboriginal terminology' in *Municipal Council Year Book*, Adelaide City Council, Adelaide.

Amery, Rob 1997. Kaurna History - Briefing notes to the Adelaide City Council.

Rob Amery, Kaurna Places names and Heritage, Report to the Adelaide City Council, 1997

Amery, R. 1997 Kaurna Language & Language Ecology, Readings, 2 vols., Linguistics, University of Adelaide.

Angas, G. F. 1847, *Savage life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, Smith, Elder & Co., London.

Angas, G. F. 1847, *South Australia Illustrated*, Smith, Elder & Co., London.

Anon 1843, South Australia in 1842 by one who lived there nearly four years, J. C. Hailes, London.

Anon. 1896, *Glenelg Illustrated 1836-1896*, W. K. Thomas & Co., Adelaide.

Anon 1982, 'The Kaurna people: original inhabitants of the Adelaide Plain', *Lumen* 11, (4): 10-12.

Anon 1987, 'The Tjilbruke myth (the making of the springs)', *People, Parks and Preservation* 5: 4.

Anthropological Soc. of S.A. 1987, 'Aborigines of the Adelaide area: early research by the Anthropological Society of South Australia', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 25(9): 7-8.

Arnold, B. 1988, 'Three new translations of German settlers' accounts of the Australian Aborigines', *Torrens Valley Hist. Jnl.* 33: 48-56.

Auhl, I. 1976, *From settlement to city. A history of the district of Tea Tree Gully*, Lynton Publications, Blackwood.

---

[152] This bibliography is based on the 'Kaurna Bibliography' developed by Tom Gara for *Aboriginal Adelaide, Special Issue of the Journal of the Anthropological Society of SA*, 28(1&2), December 1990, pp. 145-164.

Australian Local Government Association & the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, *Working out agreements between Local Government & Indigenous Australians: a practical guide*, Canberra, 1998

Aveling, M. 1987, 'Colonel Gawler hosts a dinner for the Aborigines' in *Australians: A historical library* (8 vols). Vol. II: *Australians, 1838*, F. Crowley, A. D. Gilbert, K. S. Inglis & P. Spearritt (eds) Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Australia.

Balaklava Centenary Book Committee 1977, *Balaklava. Change and challenge*, Griffin Press, Adelaide.

Basedow, H. 1925, 'Slate scraping implements of the extinct Adelaide tribe', *Man* 25 (106); 173-176.

Basedow, H. 1925, *The Australian Aboriginal*, Preece, Adelaide.

Behr, H. 1848, 'Uber die Urbewohner von Adelaide in Sud Australian nach Eigenen Anschauungen Wahrend Dortigen Aufenthalts', *Mbr. Ges. Erdk.* 5: 82-93.

Bennett, J. F. 1843, *Historical and descriptive account of South Australia*, Smith, Elder & Co, London.

Berndt, R. M. 1940, 'A curlew and owl legend from the Narunga tribe, South Australia', *Oceania* 10(4): 456-462.

Berndt, R. M. 1940, 'Some aspects of Jaralde culture, South Australia', *Oceania* 11(2): 164-185.

Berndt, R. M. & Berndt, C. H. 1981, *The world of the first Australians*, revised edition, Landsdowne Press, London.

Berndt, R. M., Berndt, C. H. with Stanton, J. E. 1993 *A world that was*, Melbourne University Press at the Miegunyah Press, Melbourne.

Best, B. 1986 *George William Francis. First Director of the Adelaide Botanic Garden.* Privately published by the author in conjunction with Botanic Gardens of Adelaide.

Black, E. C. 1966, 'Population and tribal distribution' *in Aboriginal man in South and central Australia*, Cotton, B. (ed.), Government Printer, Adelaide.

Black, J. M. 1920, 'Vocabularies of four South Australian languages - Adelaide, Narrunga, Kukata, and Narrinyeri - with special reference to their speech sounds', *Trans. Roy. Soc. S.A.* 44: 76-93.

Blum, R. (no date), The Second Valley, The author, Adelaide.

Bonwick, J. 1862, *Rides out and about*, The Religious Tract Society, London.

Brock, P. 1987 'Writing Aboriginal collective biography - Poonindie, South Australia, 1850-1894', *Aboriginal History* 11 (2): 116-128.

Brock, P. & Kartinyeri, D. 1989, *Poonindie. The rise and destruction of an Aboriginal agricultural community*, Aboriginal Heritage Branch and S.A. Government Printer, Adelaide.

Bull, J. W. 1884, *Early experiences of life in South Australia*, Sampson, Law, Marston & Co., Adelaide.

Campbell, T. F. 1924, 'An account of a hitherto unrecorded type of Aboriginal stone object', *Trans. Roy. Soc. S.A.* 48: 74-78.

Campbell, V. 1979, 'Interim report on the Fleurieu Peninsula Project', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 17 (1); 1-10.

Campbell, V. M. 1979, 'Archaeological reconstruction of coastal sites south of Adelaide', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 17(1); 5-11.

Campbell, V. M. 1980, 'Excavation of a small hearth site at Moana Beach, south of Adelaide', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 18 (7); 5-31.

Campbell, V. M. 1981, 'Archaeology of the southern Adelaide region. Introduction', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 19 (7);1-5.

Campbell, V. M. 1981, 'Archaeology of the southern Adelaide region. Part 2: Sites and sequences', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 19 (8); 1-9.

Campbell, V. M. 1983, 'Moana revisited', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 21(8); 5-6.

Campbell, V. M. 1985, ' A note on two radio-carbon dates recently obtained from sand-dunes in the Silver Sands area', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 23(5); 3-4.

Campbell, V. M. 1985, 'Is the legend of Tjilbruke a Kaurna legend ?', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 23(7); 3-8.

Campbell, V. M. 1986, 'Notes on the distribution of slate scrapers', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 24(2); 10-11.

Campbell, V. M. 1986, 'Notes on some interesting sites on the southern coast of the Fleurieu Peninsula', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 24(5); 3-13.

Campbell, V. M. 1986, 'Our oldest dingo ?', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 24(7); 9-13.

Campbell, V. M. 1988, 'A brief history of archaeology on the Fleurieu Peninsula', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 25(3); 7-10.

Carroll , A and Tregenza, J. 1986 *Eugene Von Geurard's South Australia.* Arts Gallery Board of S.A. in assoc. with the History Trust of S.A., Adelaide.

Cawthorne, W. A. 1926, 'Rough notes on the manners and customs of the natives', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Aust'asia, S.A. Br.* 27: 44-77.

Chittleborough, J. 1903, 'Old memories', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Aust'asia, S.A. Br.* 6; 59-60.

Clarke, P. A. 1985, 'The importance of roots and tubers as a food source for southern South Australian Aborigines', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 23(6): 2-12.

Clarke, P. A. 1985, 'Fruits and seeds as food for southern South Australian Aborigines', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 23(9): 9-22.

Clarke, P. A. 1986, 'Aboriginal use of plant exudates, foliage and fungi as food and water sources in southern South Australia', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 24(3): 3-18.

Clarke, P. A. 1986, 'The study of ethnobotany in southern South Australian Aborigine', *Aust. Aboriginal Studies* 2:40-47.

Clarke, P. A. 1987, 'Aboriginal uses of plants as medicines, narcotics and poisons in southern South Australia', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 25 (5): 3-23.

Clarke, P. A. 1988, 'Aboriginal use of subterranean plant parts in southern South Australia. *Rec. S.A. Museum* 22(1): 73-86.

Clarke, P. A. 1989, 'Aboriginal non-plant medicines in southern South Australia and western Victoria', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 27 (5): 1-10.

Clarke, P. A. 1990, 'Adelaide Aboriginal cosmology', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 28(1): 1-10.

Clarke, P.A. 1991, 'Adelaide as an Aboriginal landscape', *Aboriginal History* 15(1): 54-72

Cleland, J. B. & Tindale, N. B. 1936, 'The natives of South Australia' in *The Centenary history of South Australia*, Fenner, C. (ed), Roy. Geogr. Soc. Aust'asia S.A. Br., Adelaide.

Clyne, R. 1981, 'At war with the natives: from the Coorong to the Rufus, 1841', *Jnl. Historical Soc. S.A.* 9: 91-110.

Clyne, R. 1987, *Colonial Blue: a history of the SA Police Force*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide.

Cockburn, R. 1984, *What's in a name? Nomenclature of South Australia*, Ferguson Publications, Adelaide.

Coles, R. B. & Draper, N. 1988, 'Aboriginal history and recently-discovered art in the Mount Lofty Ranges', *Torrens Valley Hist. Jnl.* 33: 2-42.

Colwell, M. 1972, *The history of the Noarlunga district*, Scrymgour & Sons, Adelaide.

Colwell, M. & Naylor, A. 1974 *Adelaide An Illustrated History*, Lansdowne Press, Melbourne.

Condon, H. T. 1955, 'Aboriginal bird names', *S.A. Ornithologist* 21: 74-88, 91-98.

Cooper, H. M. 1948, 'Examples of native material culture from South Australia', *S.A. Naturalist* 25(1): 1-8.

Cooper, H. M. 1950, 'Stone implements from a mangrove swamp at South Glenelg', *Trans. Roy. Soc. S.A.* 73 (2): 220-222.

Cooper, H. M. 1959, 'Large archaeological stone implements from Hallett Cove, South Australia', *Trans. Roy. Soc. S.A.* 82: 55-60.

Cooper, H. M. 1960, 'The archaeology of Kangaroo Island', *Rec. S.A. Museum* 13 (4): 481-503.

Cooper, H. M. 1961, 'Archaeological stone implements from along the lower River Wakefield, South Australia', *Trans. Roy. Soc. S.A.* 84; 105-118.

Cooper, H. M. 1968, 'An archaeological campsite in the vicinity of Hallett Cove, South Australia', *Rec. S.A. Museum* 15(4): 605-614.

Cooper, H. M. 1968, 'A further description of large stone implements from South Australia', *Rec. S.A. Museum* 15(4): 581-603.

Cooper, H. M. 1970, 'The record of man' in *Hallett Cove. A field guide*, Cooper, H. M., Kenny, M. & Scrymgour, J. M. (eds), S.A. Museum, Adelaide.

Cottington, M. 1989, *Aboriginals of South Australia. A regional bibliography*, Department of Environment and Planning, Adelaide.

Cotton, B. C. (ed) 1966, *Aboriginal man in South and central Australia*, Government Printer, Adelaide.

Davidson, D. S. 1938, 'A preliminary register of Australian tribes and hordes, also map', *Proc. American Philosophical Society* Philadelphia. 79 (4): 649-79.

Day, T. Memories of the Extinct Tribe of Cowandilla, 1902. Unpublished manuscript, SA Museum.

Dixon, R. M. W., Ramson, W. S. & Thomas, M. 1990, *Australian Aboriginal words and their meanings*, Oxford University Press, U.K.

Dolling, A. 1981, *The history of Marion on the Sturt*, Peacock Publications, Adelaide.

Donovan, P. F. 1978, *Port Wakefield and district. A history*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide.

Donovan, P. F. 1986, *Between the city and the sea. A history of West Torrens from settlement in 1836 to the present day*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide.

Draper, N. 1988, 'Stone tools and cultural landscapes: investigating the archaeology of Kangaroo Island', *Jnl. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Aust'asia S.A.* 88: 15-36.

East, J. J. 1889, The Aborigines of South and central Australia, Pamphlet, Mortlock Library of South Australiana.

Edquist, A. G. 1920, 'Nature's way', *S.A. Naturalist* 1(4): 60-61.

Education Department of SA 1989, *The Kaurna people. Aboriginal people of the Adelaide Plains. An Aboriginal studies course for secondary students in years 8-10*, Education Department of South Australia, Adelaide.

Edwards, R. 1963, 'Preliminary survey of the Aboriginal reniform slate scrapers of South Australia', *Rec. S.A. Museum* 14 (3): 515-524.

Edwards, R. 1964, 'A former Aboriginal campsite on the Sturt River at Marion, South Australia', *Mankind* 6(4): 184-188.

Edwards, R. 1966, 'Aboriginal campsite on the Sturt River at Coromandel Valley, South Australia', *Rec. S.A. Museum* 15(2); 237-241.

Edwards, R. 1972, *The Kaurna people of the Adelaide Plains*, S.A. Museum, Adelaide.

Elkin, A. P. 1977, *Aboriginal men of high degree*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.

Ellis, R. W. 1976, 'The Aboriginal inhabitants and their environment' in C. R. Twidale et al (eds) *Natural History of the Adelaide Region*, Royal Soc. S.A., Adelaide.

Ellis, R. W. & Houston, C. 1976, The Aboriginal inhabitants of the Adelaide Plains: a resource series in Aboriginal studies, Aboriginal and Historic Relics Advisory Board, Adelaide.

Eyre, E. J. 1845, *Journals of expeditions of discovery into central Australia and overland from Adelaide to King Georges Sound, in the years 1840-1841* (2 vols.), Boone, London.

Finlayson, W. 1903, 'Reminiscences by Pastor Finlayson', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Aust'asia, S.A. Br.* 6; 39-55.

Fisher, G. L. (ed) 1962, 'Captain John Hindmarsh's letters to George Fife Angas. Part II, 1837-1839', *South Australiana* 1 (2): 49-83.

Fitzpatrick, P. 1989, 'Warra'Kaurna. A selected wordlist from the language of the Kaurna people of the Adelaide Plains, Aboriginal Heritage Branch, Adelaide.

Flavel, W. 1902, 'A few recollections of colonial life', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Aust'asia, S.A. Br.* 5: 103-12.

Foster, R. 1989, 'Feasts of the full-moon: the distribution of rations to Aborigines in South Australia, 1836-1861', *Aboriginal History* 13 (1): 63-78.

Foster, R. 1990, 'The Aborigines Location in Adelaide: South Australia's first 'mission' to the Aborigines, *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 28 (1): 11-37.

Foster, R. (ed.) 1990, 'Two early reports on the Aborigines of South Australia', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 28 (1): 38-62.

Foster, R.(ed) 1991 Sketch of the Aborigines of South Australia, References in the Cawthorne Papers, Aboriginal Heritage Branch, S.A. Dept of Environment and Planning.

Foster, R. 1993 An imaginary dominion: the representation and treatment of Aborigines in South Australia, 1834-1911. Phd thesis, University of Adelaide.

Foster, R. & Gara, T. J. 1986, 'Aboriginal culture in South Australia' in *The Flinders history of South Australia. Social history*, E. Richards (ed), Wakefield Press, Adelaide.

Gale, F. 1964, *A study of assimilation: part-Aborigines in South Australia*, Adelaide Libraries Board of SA.

Gale, F. 1966, 'Patterns of post-European Aboriginal migration', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Aust'asia, S.A. Br.* 67: 21-37.

Gale, F. & Binnion J. 1975, *Poverty among Aboriginal families in Adelaide*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Gale, F. & Wundersitz, J. 1982 Adelaide Aborignes a case study of urban life 1966-1981. in E. Fisk (ed.) *The Aboriginal component in the Australian economy*, Development Studies Centre, ANU, Canberra.

Gardiner, G. 1973, 'History (1840-1969)' in *Aldinga - Sellicks Beach Scrub. A survey of its history and natural values*, E. M. Wollaston (ed), Department of Further Education, Adelaide.

Gara, T. J. 1986, 'Burial customs of the Kaurna', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 24(8): 6-9.

Gara, T. J. 1990, 'The life of Ivaritji ('Princess Amelia') of the Adelaide tribe', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 28 (1): 64-103.

Gara, T.J. Mullawirraburka (King John), *Aboriginal History*, forthcoming.

Gara, T. 1988 Some Aboriginal Sites in the Adelaide Area, The Aboriginal Camp at Botanic Park, Draft paper 27/4/98.

Gell, J. P. 1841,'The vocabulary of the Adelaide tribe', *Tas. Jnl. Nat. Science* 1(2): 109-124. (Reprinted in Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A. 1988, 25(5): 3-15).

Gell, J. P. 1904, 'South Australian Aborigines - the vocabulary of the Adelaide tribe', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Aust'asia, S.A. Br.* 7: 92-100.

Gibbs, R. 1960, 'Relations between the Aboriginal inhabitants and the first South Australian colonists', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Aust'asia, S.A. Br.* 61: 61-78.

Gibbs, R. 1984, *A history of South Australia*, Southern Heritage, Blackwood.

Gill, T. 1908, 'Some anthropological notes on the South Australian Aborigines', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Aust'asia, S.A. Br.* 10: 220-248.

Gouger, R. 1838, *South* Australia in 1837, Harvey & Darton, London.

Graham, D. & Graham, C. 1987, *As we've known it, 1911 to the present*, SA College of Advanced Education, Aboriginal Studies and Teachers Education Centre, Adelaide.

Graham, R. & Whipp, C. 1982, 'Archaeology of the southern Adelaide region. Part 3: Burial grounds and practices', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 20(1); 8-15.

Grainger, G. 1980 *Matthew Moorhouse and the South Australian Aborigines, c1839-1858.* Thesis BA(Hons), Flinders University.

Greenway, J. 1963, *Bibliography of the Australian Aborigines and the native peoples of Torres Strait to 1859*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney.

Griffiths, T and Platt, A. 1988 *The Life and Adventures of Edward Snell. The Illustrated Diary of an Artist, Engineer and Adventurer in the Australian Colonies 1849 To 1859.* Angus and Robertson, NSW.

Groome, H. 1981, *The Kaurna, first people in Adelaide*, Tjintu Books, Adelaide.

Groome, H. 1983, 'A Kaurna legend', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 21(2): 3-4.

Groome, H. 1986, 'Kaurna occupation of the Adelaide Plains 1836' in *Atlas of South Australia*, Griffin, T. & McCaskill, M. (eds), Wakefield Press, Adelaide.

Hahn, D. M. 1964, 'Extracts from the reminiscences of Captain Dirk Meinertz Hahn, 1838-1839', Translated by F. J. H. Blaess & L. A. Triebel, *South Australiana* 3(2): 97-134.

Hale, H. M. 1926, 'Some Aboriginal graves at Adelaide, South Australia', *S.A. Naturalist* 8(1): 11.

Hallack, E. H. 1892, *Our townships, farms and homesteads. Southern district of South Australia*, W. K. Thomas & Co., Adelaide.

Harrison, R. 1862, *Colonial sketches: or, five years in South Australia, with hints to capitalists and emigrants*, Hall & Virtue, London.

Hassell, K. L. 1966, *The relations between the settlers and the Aborigines in South Australia, 1836 - 1860*, Libraries Board of S.A., Adelaide.

Hawker, J. C. 1899, *Early Experiences in South Australia*, E. S. Wigg, Adelaide.

Hemming, S. 1984, 'Exhibitions of Aboriginal culture at the South Australian Museum' in *The South Australian Museum and Aboriginal education - Proceedings of a seminar*, 3-4 October, 1983: 19-25.

Hemming, S. 1985, 'Aborigines at Port Willunga: reminiscences of Thomas Martin', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 23(9): 24-29.

Hemming S. 1987 'Reminiscences of Aborigines in the Adelaide Hills', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia*, 25 (4), 1987, pp. 3-8.

Hemming, S. 1990, 'Lower Murray shields: an historical perspective', *Rec. S.A. Museum* 24 (2): 125-38.

Hemming, S. 1990, 'Kaurna identity: a brief history', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 28 (2): 127-142.

Hemming, S. 1995, Yurreidla: the Aboriginal significance of Mt Lofty and Mt Bonython, A report to the Mount Lofty Summit Advisory Panel.

Hemming, S., & Clarke, P. A. 1989, *Aboriginal people of South Australia*, Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Canberra.

Hemming, S., Jones, P. G., & Clarke, P. A. 1989, *Ngurunderi: an Aboriginal Dreaming*, SA Museum, Adelaide.

Hope, P. (ed) 1968, *The voyage of the Africaine*, River House, Victoria.

Houston, C. 1976, *The Kaurna tribe of the Adelaide Plains. A selected bibliography*, Aboriginal and Historic Relics Administration, Adelaide.

Howchin, W. 1909, *The geography of South Australia*, Whitcombe & Tombs, N. Z.

Howchin, W. 1919, 'Supplementary notes on the occurrence of Aboriginal remains discovered by Capt. S. A. White at Fulham . . . with remarks on the geological section', *Trans. Roy. Soc. S.A.* 43: 81-84.

Howchin, W. 1934, The stone implements of the Adelaide tribe, now extinct, Government Printer, Adelaide.

Howitt, A. W. 1904, *The native tribes of south-east Australia*, MacMillan & Co., London.

Inglis, J. 1961, 'Aborigines in Adelaide', *Jnl. Polynesian Soc.* 70: 200-218.

Inglis, J. 1964, 'Dispersal of Aboriginal families in South Australia (1860-1960)' in *Aborigines now. New perspective in the study of Aboriginal communities*, Reay, M. (ed.), Angus & Robertson, Sydney.

Jacques, V. 1884 'Cranes australiens de l'Adelaide', *Bull. Soc. Anthrop. Brux* 3: 53.

James, T. H. 1838 *Six months in South Australia*, J. Cross, London.

Jenkin, G. 1979 *The conquest of the Ngarrindjeri. The story of the Lower Murray Lakes tribes.* Rigby, Australia.

Jessop, W. R. H. 1862 *Flindersland and Sturtland* (2 vols.). Bentley, London.

Jones, P. G. 1986 'A bibliography of Aboriginal archaeology in South Australia' *Rec. S.A. Museum* 19 (1): 1-14.

Kangarilla Research Committee 1955 Kangarilla Historical Records, Kangarilla Research Committee, S.A.. (Facsimile edition; Kangarilla Progress Association, Inc. 1975).

Kartinyeri, D. 1983, *The Rigney family genealogy*, Aboriginal Research Centre, University of Adelaide.

Kartinyeri, D. 1985, *The Wanganeen family genealogy*, Aboriginal Research Centre, University of Adelaide.

Kartinyeri, D. 1988, *The Kartinyeri family genealogy*, S.A. Museum, Adelaide.

Kartinyeri, D. 1989, *Perna Adjunda Rudkee* ('King James Rodney') in Tandanya Opening Day Souvenir Program. Aboriginal Cultural Institute Inc., Adelaide.

Kartinyeri, D. 1989, *Introduction. Tandanya Opening Day Souvenir Program.* Aboriginal Cultural Institute Inc., Adelaide.

Kartinyeri, D. 1990, *The Wilson family genealogies*, (2 vols), S.A. Museum, Adelaide.

Kerr, 1978. *'A Exelent Coliney' The Practical Idealists of 1836-1846.* Rigby, Adelaide.

Klose, S.G. 1841-1845 Diary, Native Location, Adelaide, Translated from the German by Lutheran Archives: K60

Kraehenbuehl, D., 1977 'Original Flora of the Adelaide Plains' C3:11-17 in Warburton, J.W. (ed) 1977. *Five Metropolitan Creeks of the River Torrens, South Australia. An Environmental and Historical Study.* Dept of Adult Educ. Univ. of Adelaide.

Kraehenbuehl, D., 1996 *Pre-European vegetation of Adelaide: a survey from the Gawler River to Hallet Cove*, Nature Conservation Society of SA Inc., Adelaide.

Krieg, (translator) c1998 Letters from Klose, Missionary to the Aborigines, to the Committee in Germany, 1841-1844. Lutheran Archives, Adelaide.

Gibbs, R. M. 1969 *A History of South Australia.* Balara Books Adelaide.

Kwan, E. (ed) 1987, *Living in South Australia: a social history*, Government Printer, Adelaide.

Lampert, R. J. 1981, 'The great Kartan mystery', *Terra Australis 5*, Department of Prehistory, Aust. National University.

Lancelott, F. 1852, Australia as it is: its settlements, farms and goldfields, Colburn, London.

Leigh, W. H. 1839, *Reconnoitering voyages and travels with adventures in the new colonies of South Australia*, Smith, Elder & Co., London.

Mann, W. 1839, *Six years residence in the Australian provinces*, Smith, Elder & Co., London.

Manning, G. H. 1984 *Hope Farm chronicle*, The author, Adelaide.

Mantegani, H. 1902, 'Recollections of the early days of South Australia from 1836', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Aust'asia, S.A. Br.* 5: 70-76.

Marsden, S. 1977, *A history of Woodville*, Corporation of the City of Woodville, S.A.

Marles. D.M. (compiler) *A Pictorial History of West Torrens*. Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide.

Mathews, R. H. 1900, 'Divisions of the South Australian Aborigines', *Proc. American Philosophical Society*. 39: 78-93.

Mattingley, C. & Hampton, K. 1988, *Survival in our own land*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide.

Meyer, H. A. E. 1843, *Vocabulary of the language spoken by the Aborigines of the southern and eastern portions of the settled districts of South Australia*, Allen, Adelaide.

Meyer, H. A. E. 1846, *Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe*, G. Dehane, Adelaide.

Molineux, A. 1879, [Remarks on King John] *Trans. Roy. Soc. S.A.* 2: xxi.

Mountford, C. P. 1928, 'Aboriginal rock carvings in South Australia', Report Aust. Assoc. Adv. Sci. 29: 337-366.

Mountford, C. P. 1939, 'Aboriginal arrangement of stones at Moana, South Australia', *Trans. Roy. Soc. S.A.* 63; 119-120.

Mountford, C. P. 1960, 'Aboriginal cave paintings in the Mount Lofty Ranges, South Australia', *Rec. S.A. Museum* 13: 467-470.

Napier, C. J. 1835, *Colonization; particularly in southern Australia; with some remarks on small farms and over-population*, T. & W. Boone, London.

Newland, S. 1895, 'Some Aboriginals I have known', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Aust'asia S.A. Br.* 3: 37-54.

Newland, S. 1926, *Memoirs of Simpson Newland*, F. W. Preece, Adelaide.

Nobbs, M. F. 1971, 'A description and survey of archaeological evidence at Aldinga-Sellicks Beach Scrub', *Friends of the S.A. Museum* Newsletter 2: 5-7.

Nobbs, M. F. 1973, 'Archaeology' in *Aldinga - Sellicks Beach Scrub. A survey of its history and natural values*, E. M. Wollaston (ed), Department of Further Education, Adelaide.

Nobbs, M. F. 1987, 'Summary of information, reminiscences and anecdotes collected during interviews with elderly residents of the Aldinga Scrub area', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 25(7); 5-7.

Norris-Green, R. 1973, *Clarendon: the town - its people*, Clarendon Historic Hall Committee, Clarendon.

Oates, W. J. & Oates, L. F. 1970, *A revised linguistic survey of Australia*, Aust. Instit. of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

O'Brien, L. 1990, 'My education' , *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 28 (1); 106-126.

Parkhouse, T. A. 1923, *Reprints and papers relating to the autochthones of Australia*, Parkhouse, Woodville.

Mike Parsons, Dances with Worlds - Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in Adelaide in the 19th Century, (n.d.). Unpublished manuscript

Pascoe, J. J. (ed) 1901, *History of Adelaide and vicinity*, Hussey & Gillingham, Adelaide.

Perry, D. 1985, *The place of waters. A history of the first fifty years of Glenelg*, Corporation of the City of Glenelg & National Trust of S.A.

Pierson, J. 1972 Aborignality in Adelaide: urban resources and adaptations, Phd thesis, Washington University.

Pope, A. 1987, 'Debunking a few myths', *History Forum* 9(2): 63-74.

Pope, A. 1988, 'From feast to famine. The food factor in European-Aboriginal relations', Forum 10(1): 47-54.

Pope, A. 1988, 'Education for control. Early SA Aboriginal schools', *Forum* 10(2): 29-30.

Pope, A. 1988, 'Getting the black perspective right', *SA Teachers Journal* 3/2/1988.

Pope, A. 1989, *Resistance and retaliation. Aboriginal-European relations in early colonial South Australia*, Heritage Action, Bridgewater.

Pope, A. 1989, 'Early colonial South Australia Protectors of Aborigines - but protecting whom?', *History Forum* 11(1): 37-42.

Pope, A. 1990, 'Aboriginal workers in early South Australia', *History Forum* 12(1): 31-43.

Pope, J. 1989, 'Early race relations in three colonies. South Australia, New South Wales and New Zealand', *History Forum* 11(1): 19-20.

Pounder, D. J. 1985, 'A new perspective on Kadaitja killings', *Oceania* 56(1): 77-82.

Praite, R. & Tolley, J. C. 1970, *Place names of South Australia*, Rigby, Adelaide.

Preiss, K. A. 1961, 'Aboriginal rock paintings on the South Para River', *S.A. Naturalist* 35(3): 37-8.

Pretty, G. L. 1967, 'Rescue excavation of an Aboriginal grave, Tailem Bend, South Australia', *S.A. Naturalist* 41(4): 77-80.

Pretty, G. L. 1970, 'Survey of prehistoric monuments in South Australia', *Aust. Abor. Stud.* 22: 39-50.

Pridmore, A. 1949, *The rich valley. An account of the early life of McLaren Vale*, McLaren Vale Institute Committee, McLaren Vale.

Radford, R. & Campbell, V. 1982, 'Archaeology of the southern Adelaide region. Material culture', *Jnl. Anthrop. Soc. S.A.* 20(2): 3-8.

Ramson, W. S. 1988, *The Australian national dictionary*, Oxford Uni. Press, U.K.

Reid, R. 1928, 'The first settlers at Gawler', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Aust'asia S.A. Br.* 28: 53-74.

Reynolds, H. 1981, *The other side of the frontier*, James Cook Uni., Qld.

Reynolds, H. 1987, *The law of the land*, Penguin, Australia.

Robinson, F. & York, B. 1977, *The black resistance*, Widescope, Australia.

Ross, B. (ed) 1984, *Aboriginal and historic places around metropolitan Adelaide and the south coast*, Anthropological Society of S.A., Adelaide.

Scales, M. 1974, *John Walker's village. A history of Walkerville*, Rigby, Adelaide.

Seaman, K. 1990, 'The Press and the Aborigines: South Australia's first thirty years, *Jnl. Historical Soc. SA.* 18: 28-36.

Schurmann, E. A. 1987, *I'd rather dig potatoes. Clamor Schurmann and the Aborigines of South Australia 1838-1853*. Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide.

Schwab, R.G. 1991 The 'Blackfella Way' ideology and practice in an urban Aboriginal community, PhD Thesis, ANU.

Smith, W. R. 1930, *Myths and legends of the Australian Aborigines*, Harrap & Co., London.

Somerville Oral History Collection, Mortlock Library:
OH 26/15. J,D. Somerville Oral History Collection, Mortlock.
Interview with Harold Finniss broadcast 7 Sept 1969 by Noel Adams for the 'Now in Retirement' ABC Radio, 1969.
OH25/10, MortlockInterview with Emily Smith, 15 Oct 1979, by Susan Marsden for the Hindmarsh Oral History Project
S.A. Speaks. An Oral History of Life in South Autralia before 1930.
Interview number 8614. Mr Charles Knuckey, 4 June, 1986, interviewed by Beth Robertson.

Stephens, E. 1889, 'The Aborigines of Australia. Being personal recollections of those tribes which once inhabited the Adelaide Plains of South Australia', *Jnl. Proc. Roy. Soc. N.S.W.* 23: 476-503.

Stephens, J. 1839, *Land of promise*, Smith, Elder & Co., London.

Stevenson, G. 1930, 'Extracts from George Stevenson's Journal', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Aust'asia, S.A. Br.* 30: 21-73.

Stirling, E. C. 1902, 'Aboriginal rock paintings on the South Para, Barossa Ranges', *Trans. Royal. Soc. S.A.* 26; 208-11.

Stirling, E. C. 1914, *Aborigines*, Government Printer, Adelaide.

Stow, J. P. 1883, *South Australia: its history, productions and natural resources*. Government Printer, Adelaide.

Summers, J. 1986, 'Colonial race relations' *in The Flinders history of South Australia. Social history*, E. Richards (ed), Wakefield Press, Adelaide.

Summers, J. 1986, 'Aborigines and Government in the twentieth century' in *The Flinders history of South Australia. Social history*, E. Richards (ed), Wakefield Press, Adelaide.

Sutton, P., Jones, P., & Hemming, S. 1988, 'Survival, regeneration and impact' in Sutton, P. (ed.) *Dreamings: the art of Aboriginal Australia*, Viking, Victoria.

Taplin, G. 1879, *The folklore, manners and languages of South Australian Aborigines*, Government Printer, Adelaide.

Teichelmann, C. G. 1841, *Aborigines of South Australia. Illustrative and explanatory note of the manners, customs, habits and superstitions of the natives of South Australia*, Committee of S.A. Wesleyan Methodist Auxiliary Missionary Soc., Adelaide.

Teichelmann, C. G. & Schurmann, C. W. 1840, *Outlines of a grammar, vocabulary and phraseology of the Aboriginal language of South Australia spoken by the natives in, and for some distance around Adelaide*, Robert Thomas and Co., Adelaide.

Teichelmann, C. G. 1886, 'Adelaide district: vocabulary' in *The Australian Race*, E. M. Curr (4 Vols). Government Printer, Melbourne.

Teichelmann, C.G., Diary 1839-1846, Translated by Marcus Kreig, Lutheran Archives.

Thomas, E. K. (ed) 1925, *The diary and letters of Mary Thomas*, W. K. Thomas & Co., Adelaide.

Tindale, N. B. 1926, 'Native burial at Pedlers Creek, South Australia', *S.A. Naturalist* 20; 10-13.

Tindale, N. B. 1935, 'The legend of Waijungari, Jaralde tribe, Lake Alexandrina, South Australia, and the phonetic system employed in its transcription', *Rec. S.A. Museum* 5(3): 261-274.

Tindale, N. B. 1936, 'Notes on the natives of the southern portion of Yorke Peninsula, South Australia', *Trans. Roy. Soc. S.A.* 60: 55-70.

Tindale, N. B. 1937, 'Two legends of the Ngadjuri tribe from the middle north of South Australia', *Trans. Roy. Soc. S.A.* 61: 149-153.

Tindale, N. B. 1940, 'Results of the Harvard-Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition, 1938-39. Distribution of Australian Aboriginal tribes: a field survey', *Trans. Roy. Soc. S.A.* 64(1): 140-232.

Tindale, N. B. 1941, 'Native songs of the South-East of South Australia. Part 2', *Trans. Roy. Soc. S.A.* 65(2): 233-243.

Tindale, N. B. 1974, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*, University of California Press, U.S.A.

Tindale, N. B. 1976, 'Some ecological bases for Australian tribal boundaries' in *Tribes and Boundaries in Australia*, Peterson, N. (ed), Aust. Instit. of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Tindale, N. B. 1982, 'A South Australian looks at some beginnings of archaeological research in Australia', *Aboriginal History* 6(2): 92-110.

Tindale, N. B. 1986, 'Anthropology' *in Ideas and endeavours - the natural sciences in South Australia*, Twidale, C. R., Tyler, M. J. & Davies, M. (eds), Royal Society of S.A.

Tindale, N. B. 1987, 'The wanderings of Tjirbruke: a tale of the Kaurna people of Adelaide', *Rec. S.A. Museum*, 20: 5-13.

Tindale, N. B. & Sheard, H. L. 1927, 'Aboriginal rock paintings, South Para River, South Australia', *Trans. Royal. Soc. S.A.* 51: 14-17.

Tindale, N. B. & Mountford, C. P. 1936, 'Results of the excavation of Kongarati Cave near Second Valley, South Australia', *Rec. S.A. Museum* 5(4); 487-502.

Tindale, N.B. 1935-1939 Adelaide Tribe Notes, South Australian Museum, AA 338/1/34.

Towler, D. J. 1986, *A fortunate locality. A history of Noarlunga and district*, City of Noarlunga, S.A.

Tregenza, J. 1984, 'Two notable portraits of South Australian Aborigines', *Jnl. Historical Soc. S.A.* 12: 22-31.

Unley Museum Research Files for Exhibition, *Same Story, Different Places.*

Wanganeen, E. (ed) 1987, *Point Pearce: past and present*, Aboriginal Studies and Teacher Education Centre, SA College of Advanced Education, Adelaide.

Warburton, J.W. (ed) 1977. *Five Metropolitan Creeks of the River Torrens, South Australia. An Environmental and Historical Study.* Dept of Adult Educ. Univ. of Adelaide.

Warburton, E. 1981, *The paddocks beneath. A history of Burnside from the beginning*, Corporation of the City of Burnside, S.A.

Whimpress, B., Adelaide Oval Corroboree 1885, Unpublished manuscript.

White, S. A. 1919, 'Notes on the occurrence of Aboriginal remains below marine deposits at the Reedbeds, Fulham, near Adelaide'. *Trans. Roy. Soc. S.A.* 43: 77-80.

Whitelock, D. 1977, *Adelaide 1836-1976. A history of difference*, University of Queensland Press, Qld.

Whitelock, D. 1989, *Gawler. Colonel Light's country town*, Corporation of the Town of Gawler, SA.

Wilkinson, G. B. 1848, *South Australia: its advantages and its resources*, John Murray, London.

Williams, R. F. (no date), *To find the way. Yankalilla and district, 1836-1986*, Yankalilla & District Historical Society Inc., S. A.

Williams, W. 1839, A vocabulary of the language of the Aborigines of the Adelaide district, and other friendly tribes, of the province of South Australia, MacDougall, Adelaide.

Willunga Progress Association 1952, *Willunga: "place of green trees"*, Richardson & Wheeler, Adelaide.

Wilson, The Making of the River Torrens: a study of the forces working on a planned cultural landscape of the 19th and 20th centuries. Honours Archaeology, Flinders University, 1995, p. 29.

Wolfe, P. 1994, 'Nation and Miscegenation: Discursive continuity in the Post-Mabo era', *Social Analysis*, 36: 93-152.

Woods, J. D. (ed) 1879, *The native tribes of South Australia*, E. S. Wigg, Adelaide.

Woods, J. D. 1894, *The province of South Australia*, Government Printer, Adelaide.

Worsnop, T. 1897, *The prehistoric arts, manufactures, works, weapons etc. of the Aborigines of Australia*, Government Printer, Adelaide.

Wyatt, W. 1879, *Some account of the manners and superstitions of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay Aboriginal tribes*, E. S. Wigg, Adelaide.

Yelland, E. M. 1970, *Colonists, copper and corn in the colony of South Australia, 1850-51*, Hawthorn Press, Melbourne.

Young, J. M. (1890?), *A tale of the early days of South Australia*, Private printing, Burnside.